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ABSTRACT

This study looked at the overall situation of the immigrant population, and young immigrants in particular, and analyzed such problem areas as the transition from school to working life and the inadequacies of initial training with relation to the situation in Belgium. The study identified the following problem areas: (1) problems relating to the education of children of migrant workers and (2) problems concerning access to vocational training and the links between success at school, success in vocational training, success in employment, and access to the labor market. Analysis of the data suggested some conclusions, among them: (1) migrants have stayed on the fringes of the job market in Belgium, according to the theory that the first generation of them were going back to their home countries; (2) no vocational training was provided for these workers; (3) the children of these migrants are highly at risk for unemployment because they lack job training and the work ethic of their parents; (4) these youths also are more likely to be involved in crime; and (5) it is imperative to set up vocational training programs for these youths and to increase their access to such programs. (72 references, mostly in French.) (KC)

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Vocational training of young migrants in Belgium

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

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Vocational training of young migrants in Belgium

A. Bastenier, F. Dassetto, H. Fonck
Groupe d'Études des migrations et des relations interethniques, Université catholique de Louvain — Louvain-la-Neuve

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This is the second study to be undertaken as part of a project on
"THE VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF YOUNG MIGRANTS IN BELGIUM, FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, DENMARK AND LUXEMBOURG".
It includes the latest and most relevant documentation and statistical data on this subject.

This study which looks at the overall situation of the immigrant population, and young immigrants in particular, analyses such problem areas as the transition from school to working life and the inadequacies of initial training with relation to the vocational training, employment and unemployment situation.

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PREFACE

Young people of foreign origin, second generation youngsters, young immigrants: the diversity of terms that can be used is indicative of the problems of defining such complex and varied realities which are so dependent on social, historical, environmental, emotional and conjunctural factors that they cannot be explained by macrosocial analysis. We should first state our conviction that there is no such thing as "young immigrants", or at least not in the sense of a clearly definable, homogeneous grouping, a factor which imposes inevitable limits on a study which, like ours, aims at understanding an extremely complex and diversified situation.

These youngsters constitute a fairly consistent notional population within the European Community. Little is known about them: their position in the environment of school, training and employment, their aspirations and their problems. There are few statistics in any country and what information is available is either at such an aggregate level as to be of little value or else so localized that it cannot be used as a basis for generalizations. Yet knowledge of the problem is a prerequisite for any attempt to seek a solution.

In the light of these considerations, CEDEFOP embarked on a joint primary research project with the Berlin Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (BIBB) on the situation of young migrants in the Federal Republic of Germany. For anyone wishing to gain a greater insight into the situation, as far as we are aware, this is still the only material available for the Federal Republic as a whole. The research findings encouraged CEDEFOP to undertake secondary investigations to determine how much was known about the problem in other host countries within the Community: Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom. This report forms part of a series of monographs which are the product of this secondary research.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Even though the national monographs are too specific for any comparisons or aggregation, it is surprising to find that they do all point to very similar, if not identical, problem areas.

- Problems relating to the education of children of migrant workers;

- Problems concerning access to vocational training and the links between
  - success at school
  - success in vocational training
  - success in employment
  - access to the labour market.

An analysis of the monographs confirms the existence of close links between the various problem zones, converging to a central point which could be termed the "level of cultural, social and vocational integration". From a scientific point of view, it would be wrong to attempt a comparison of these problem zones on the basis of the monographs, as these are solely the product of an intelligent review of existing documents and other data (identified, collected and collated, from many different sources and with some considerable effort).

Accordingly, we consider it expedient to give the readers of these monographs a number of "general impressions" we have obtained from a review of all the monographs.

THE FAMILY AND THE SCHOOL

Family composition (e.g. a mixed marriage between a national and a non-national) and, more important, its socio-cultural category play a significant part in a young person's school career and academic success there. At least until the end of a youngster's education and training, the family remains not only a "sanctuary" but also the dominant cultural and

behavioural influence. The dominant but not the only influence, for the youngster will, from his early socialization in the school environment, be constantly trying to reconcile the different cultural models offered by the family and the host society. In this process of reconciliation there is an obvious risk of loss of cultural identity.

There is, nevertheless, a whole series of interacting and mutually reinforcing determinants that has a significant effect on the educational life chances of young children:

1. Knowledge of the host language(s): all the national monographs show that lack of linguistic competence in the language(s) of the host country has a determining influence on academic performance. In Luxembourg, for example, proficiency in three languages is necessary: Luxembourgish as the vernacular, German in primary school, switching to French in secondary school.
"A lack of knowledge of French and language learning difficulties are obviously an initial handicap which has repercussions at every level of educational and social integration". (3)

In Denmark, "the term foreign language national is used more commonly than immigrant" and "this language barrier may continue even after immigrants have become Danish citizens..." (2)

"The ability of foreigners to express themselves in writing in the German language is far below standard". (5)

2. Time of arrival in the host country: the monographs agree that "late arrivals" usually encounter problems with assimilation, resulting in academic failure in their first year at school and having to stay down in the same year once or even more.

3. Pre-school attendance: the number of foreign two- to three-year-olds attending pre-school units is disproportionately low. When the children do take part, these activities have a beneficial effect on their future schooling. In Denmark (1980),

for example, only 39% of foreign children in the 2-3 age group attended play school. The percentage is slightly higher in Germany and France.

There is, however, a general feeling that experimental schemes promoted and guided by the European Commission in pursuance of the Council directive on the schooling of migrant workers' children (+) might help to reduce academic failure by creating an awareness that there may be a multicultural society. The Danish report is quite explicit on this point.

Drop-out and failure rates in primary education differ in the various contexts studied, but there is a general consensus that after primary education, there is a substantial decline in the number of children of foreign extraction attending general, technical and vocational education. The more advanced the level of education, the fewer the immigrants. Even allowing for the small number of young nationals who go on to further education, immigrant pupils are markedly under-represented.

Despite the fact that this analysis is based on a number of different contexts and situations, in this sphere it points to a series of common factors:

- a lack of motivation for staying on in education, due to academic failure or low achievement;
- family pressure on children to leave school early and find a job;
- career guidance, often based on aptitude tests which do not allow for differences in the individuals being tested, with the result that youngsters are too readily directed towards "practical activities" or the less "demanding" subject options at school;
- spatial segregation, leading (as all the monographs show) to the creation of a "ghetto", which also has a negative effect on the learning of the host language and, at a more general level, on integration into society and the more specific environment of school.

(+) Directive: Official Journal No. L 30, 6.8.1977

SCHOOL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

By the time these young people reach the minimum school leaving age, there are far fewer opportunities open to them. In Germany, the certificate that marks the end of compulsory education is a requirement for admission to vocational education under the dual system, and even when there is no such formal impediment, access to vocational education is conditional on success at school. The future prospects of foreign youngsters both in training and on the job market are, in fact, dependent on their performance at school, one of the reasons why the Community has made this basic problem area a priority.

"The majority of research findings confirm that the key factor in the integration of young people of foreign origin is their schooling" (3).

"Immigrant youngsters remain in education until the age of 15 because it is compulsory, but then they are excluded from all branches of education" (4).

"The reason why a pupil who has to repeat years at school is bound to be an "under-user" of the educational facilities available is that academic failure has a strong influence on guidance given by the family..." (1).

So failure leads to failure. Most of these young people come onto the labour market at an early age and try, not without difficulty, to find work in areas which demand little or no skill. By contrast, it is mainly youngsters who have had a "normal" school career who move on to vocational education within the conventional education system (technical and vocational schools) or an officially recognized training system.

The obstacle race continues, however. Here too, the same old discriminating factors influence selection and, even by comparison with nationals of the same social stratum, the number of youngsters of foreign origin is disproportionately low.

One determining factor is knowledge of the host language: "When you realize that almost all teaching, particularly in technical education, is done through the medium of German, you can readily imagine the difficulties confronting children of foreign workers, even if the children were born in Luxembourg. They have to be proficient in four languages" (4).

One factor which prevents the youngsters from entering vocational training is "primarily, the need to earn immediately" (5). The major obstacle in all the context investigated, however, is the failure of vocational training systems to cater for the specific needs of groups of foreign youngsters, including those who, as in the United Kingdom, are not so much foreign as from "ethnic minorities" (6).

It is a known fact that the dominant culture of any country tends to undermine, if not completely suppress, minority cultures. This applies not only to immigrants but also to peasant and working class cultures. Modern technological and occupational culture and the systems which support it are created by and for the indigenous population.

The inability or unwillingness to adapt educational systems to the specific needs of groups who make demands of the systems and look for a response leads to the last resort of compensatory measures, or perhaps one should call them precautions. Measures of this kind are often taken for "underprivileged groups" in general rather than specifically for young immigrants. In Denmark, for example:

"Danish legislation provides support for handicapped youngsters within the framework of vocational training. And language difficulties count as a handicap ..." (2).

Large numbers of these young people attend "supplementary classes" in Luxembourg, "youth schools" in Denmark, "pre-vocational courses" or "local missions" in France and "social advancement" courses in Belgium. It is also not unusual for

parallel systems of education to be set up to cater for the needs of foreign youngsters by their own national authorities and, being an alternative to "non-training", to an extent they attract drop-outs from the conventional educational and training systems in the host countries.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT

The transition from training to employment might be more accurately expressed as a transition from "non-training" to shrinking labour markets. The introduction of new technology into industry is steadily reducing the number of repetitive, low-skill, manual jobs formerly done by "first generation" immigrants brought in to contribute to the economic growth of industrialized countries.

An additional factor is that immigrant labour is concentrated in declining or threatened areas of employment like the steel and building industries.

The pressure exerted on youngsters by family, school and careers advisers to find employment at an early age has already been mentioned. When they do find work, though, it is usually in unskilled jobs, so that their lack of training is parallelled and aggravated by a lack of useful work experience.

"...immigrants will never achieve cultural or social assimilation so long as they are segregated on the fringes of the working world " (1).

There seems to be no great discrepancy between the numbers of young nationals and non-nationals without jobs. In France, in fact, unemployment trends appear to be developing along exactly the same lines. It is in the quality of employment rather than quantity that there seems to be an appreciable gap.

Foreign young people tend predominantly to be employed in manual or unskilled jobs. One wonders whether the present generation is not merely reproducing the pattern of its predecessors, with the added problem of an overall decline in the number of jobs available.

AREAS OF INVESTMENT

This brief examination of some of the problem areas which affect the future of young people of foreign origin inevitably touches only on the surface; no original discoveries can be claimed and no new proposals can be made. Nevertheless, we feel that attention might well be drawn to certain areas in which it would be worth investing research and positive action:

1. Too little is known about these young people's situations and problems and the statistical information available is non-existent, fragmentary or contradictory. There is an evident need for a major investment in research on the wide variety of situations encountered in this particular group of young people and the individual connotations.

2. Recognition of the undoubted fact that it is at school that the future of the youngsters in society and the working world is determined should point to a clearer definition of how to mobilize immigrant leaders, employers, unions, the authorities and families to ensure that they give maximum support for schemes set up by the European Commission in pursuance of the directive on "the schooling of the children of migrant workers".

3. The ability of vocational training systems to adjust to the specific needs of foreign youngsters and, more generally, underprivileged youth as a whole is a far-reaching social challenge. We need to understand where and how adjustments can be made without having to resort to remedial measures that are not very effective and that segregate the recipients even more.

4. Teaching of the host country's language or languages is still a challenge in terms of teaching methods and aids, the imparting of greater motivation and a commitment in the community at large.

NOTES

The quotations in this article have been taken from reports on the training situation of youngsters of foreign origin in

1. Belgium[+]
2. Denmark[+]
3. France[+]
4. Luxembourg[+]
5. Federal Republic of Germany[++]
6. United Kingdom[+]

[+] monographs will soon be available in French, English and German (also summary reports in Danish, Italian and Dutch)

[++] research report published in French, English and German

5. The lack of information and the shortcomings of educational and vocational guidance point to the need for a greater understanding and a clearer definition of methods of stimulating interaction and integration amongst teachers, counsellors, families and the community.

6. Finally, there is a clear need for positive measures to make it easier for foreign youngsters to gain access to vocational training, and to support while they are training.

Duccio Guerra
CEDEFOP

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The eruption of an issue

Of all the research conducted on immigration in Belgium to date it is only relatively recently that studies on the "second generation" have been undertaken. However, it looks as though these will inevitably acquire increasing importance, and there is something to be gained in starting by trying to understand the reasons why there was such a surprizing delay followed by a sudden burst of activity.

Is the phenomenon due to a sudden urgency among industrial and political leaders who, in the face of the pressing need to have a large reserve army of workers available for a future upswing, had been unaware of or under-estimated the importance of this issue? In fact, it had long been known that all so-called temporary movements of labour always finally lead to migration resulting from the reuniting of families, which has subsequent demographic consequences. This aspect of the matter had, moreover, triggered a debate in Belgium when A. Sauvy's report on the ageing of the Belgian population was published in 1962, while R. André had well demonstrated the contradiction between economic migration and migration with demographic objectives (1969), the costs of which are widely divergent. However, these reflections did not suffice to bring to public awareness a clear appreciation of the obvious natural growth of the immigrant population and the extent of the associated difficulties of adaptation and integration.

It would appear that the reasons for the renewed interest in the "second generation" of immigrants are associated with the economic crisis which began in 1973 -1974, i.e. at a time when the countries importing foreign labour decided to put a stop to the flow of immigrants, since these years may be considered to constitute a turning point in more than one respect, both for the

immigrants and the host societies.

On the one hand the turning point of this period put an end to an exceptionally intense phase of movements of large numbers of workers in Europe. It will probably prove to have been the final end to the kind of migratory flow to which we have been witness during the last three decades, since it is difficult to see what could justify a return to the previous phase in the countries which had been importing labour up to this point. The curtain would appear to have fallen on the socio-economic context of the "second industrialization", which led to what were without doubt the most extensive movements of labour in the demographic history of the European continent.

However, on the other hand, the turning point of this period was also reflected in the attitudes which had prevailed up to that time towards the policy of "management" of the "stocks" of migrant workers present in the host countries. For decades, by reducing the immigrants to the level of a mere economic quantity it had been possible to foster the idea that these were simply temporary "foreign workers". With the coming of the years of economic crisis - which were characterized as much by the relative stabilization of the transplanted populations as by a freeze on new arrivals (1) - came the belated discovery that this

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(1) This stabilization can be basically explained by the essential impossibility of replacing the immigrants on the labour market, due partly to the open dislike of the native workers for certain categories of employment and partly to the rigidity of the structure of these "dualist" markets, so-called because they were characterized by a strict distinction between a primary market, with relatively satisfying jobs mainly for the nationals and a secondary market of jobs with a lower social value, which was largely devoid of nationals and continued to function due to the presence of immigrants.

"immigrant population" was more or less there to stay. From then on it became necessary to determine the characteristics of a phenomenon which was in the process of becoming perennial: an increasing number of re-united families, the re-establishment of a certain balance between the sexes (feminization of the immigrant population), in increasing proportion of children and young people and a trend towards ageing of the group of immigrants having been resident for a long period .

At the centre of this wider-angled view the members of the second (and even the third) generation of immigrants enjoy a peculiar status. By virtue of the number and nature of the problems which they pose, in a sense they are the group which best illustrates relations and social intercourse within the Belgian multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society, both as they are today and as they will be tomorrow.

If this category of "different" young people are today regarded with concern and sometimes even with apprehension it is probably because people believe that they play an uncertain and peculiarly symbolical social role in what could tomorrow be the ingrdients of a scenario which is now beginning to evolve.

When yong second generation immigrants ask "Who are we?", they are not only expressing the natural perplexion of adolescents preparing themselves for adult social life. They are well aware, in an objective void of identity, of the lack of a place which they can define and feel is their own. However, they also sense that the big question of the years to come revolves around living and working conditions in a society in which they are likely to finally settle and put down roots. Will the

necessary means for integration be available to them or will thy be relegated to the fringe, both as regards work no qualifications, unemployment, etc.) and cultural and social life, in the same way as their fathers before them?

It is against this background of anxiety that the compiling of studies on the vocational training situation of young immigrants in Belgium must be understood.

1.2 Sources

We have mentioned that the data and research available on the situation of young immigrants in Belgium are still limited. While a whole series of essays and journalistic articles has been written on the subject, these are for the most part restricted to expressing the anxiety which is surfacing in the Belgian population with regard to the difficulties associated with understanding each other and living together which already arise between the native and immigrant groups. In this respect, the issues of the integration of the "second generation" in school, working and social life are associated with a multitude of thorny problems. However, the "suspicions" expressed in this literature are by no means an adequate basis for proving the theories of those for whom the young immigrants are abandoning the exclusively productive behaviour of their parents and show a leaning towards social deviance or delinquency because they do not have the same access to goods and leisure-time activities in this period of economic crisis.

Whatever the case may be, we must start from the following observation: the lack of scientifically sound

studies on the problems encountered by second generation immigrants is a fact, which is even more evident with regard to vocational training of this group. The lack of attention paid to this issue is remarkable, particularly on the part of the official bodies Apart from the statistical surveys conducted by the Ministry of National Education, the remainder of the available data comes from very fragmentary studies conducted by private organizations with a minimum of funds. The lack of coordination at this level obviously means that it is dangerous to claim that any of these surveys is exhaustive. The risk is added to by the fact that, as mentioned by P. Debaty (1980), the field of vocational training in Belgium is made up of a veritable mosaic of projects, most of which are badly coordinated, and it would be very bold to attempt a quantitative evalution, let alone a qualitiative one.

Nevertheless, we believe that in the form in which we have presented it, this review is based on a systematic enough analysis of the sources for us to be able to assert that the risk of having overlooked some important piece of information contained in the studies on vocational training of young immigrants in Belgium is minimal.

1.3 Methodological problems and difficulties encountered

We drew on a large number of sources to compile this survey. The reliability of the conclusions drawn in them is not consistent and is, moreover, not absolutely clear. This is added to by the fact that anyone analyzing the available documentation rapidly gains the impression that, apart from a few rare scientific studies, one is confronted with either observations or intuitive knowledge drawn from observers or occasional users in certain specific fields of vocational training, and is forced to come to the conclusion that it is impossible to arrive at a comparison between the two. However, we felt that in view of the present dearth of information on conditions in the

field of vocational training of immigrants, we should not neglect any of the available sources which could furnish useful information, even if it was not generally applicable.

A second source of difficulties should be mentioned. One can investigate the vocational training situation of young immigrants from two different points of view. One method is to investigate and explain the situation mainly on the basis of the individual characteristics of the young people themselves; the relevance of this approach was confirmed by the CEDEFOP enquiry conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany from 1979 - 1980. It has also been corroborated by all studies conducted in Belgium on the diffuculties of the children of foreign workers in school for almost the last 30 years. Important pieces of information have thus been extricated in connection with the problems associated with the "socio-cultural handicaps" of immigrant schoolchildren and the characteristics of their family milieus. A second approach is to attempt to attain a detailed appreciation of the conditions in the training institutions and the structural difficulties complicating the process of integration of young immigrants, as a result of the normative models according to which these institutions are run. Once we had concluded our documentary analysis it was clear that in Belgium, apart from the large number of studies conducted on the school problems of young foreigners, the majority of studies connected with vocational training tend to adopt the second approach.

In the last analysis the problem lies in the difficulty associated with establishing links between these two types of approach. If the studies which use "subjective variables" are taken as basis, depending on the extent to

it is desirable to grapple with any handicaps arising, it becomes very difficult to analyze the effect of the Belgium norms on potential immigrant candidates for vocational training. Conversely, if one bases oneself on the studies which mainly consider the "objective" or "structural" variables, it is difficult to assess the success potential which vocational training institutions would have even if they were altered to allow greater accessibility to young foreigners.

This would appear to be one of the basic limitations of all the studies completed to date. It reveals how badly equipped the country still is to cope with the situation in the field of vocational training in general and of young migrants in particular, a situation which had been even further complicated by the economic crisis and the uncertainty which it spreads with regard to the goals which should be pursued by vocational training, which in turn should be related to the changes in the productive apparatus itself.

2. THE OVERALL SITUATION OF THE POPULATION OF YOUNG IMMIGRANTS IN BELGIUM

2.1. The foreign population as a whole

On March 1, 1981, the number of foreigners resident in Belgium was 878 577, as compared with a total population of 9 848 647, i.e. 8.9%. However, the foreigners are obviously unequally distributed among the regions, since there were 408 158 foreigners in the Walloon region, out of a total population of 3 221 224 (12.7%), the ratio in the Flemish region being 232 544 to 5 630 129 (4.1 %)and that in the Brussels region 237 375 to 997 293 (23.6 %).

Not all of these foreigners are classified under the the group of "immigrants", which traditionally includes persons of non-Belgian nationality belonging to the socio-professional category of workers. There are also in fact some 300 000 nationals from either adjoining countries or others close at hand resident in Belgium. However, classification of these individuals according to their nationality appears to lend the figures a clarity which they do not in fact have. The formal use of this method affords a precision which is illusory and which must be mentioned if we are not to include in or disinclude from the population under investigation individuals whose socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics are dissimilar. Thus by breaking down the figures in this manner we don not arrive exactly at the category "immigrant" of interest for this review, the purpose of which is to investigate above all the situation of young people from families which participated in the great influxes of migrant workers into Belgium during the last three or four decades. It should also be taken into account that a certain quite appreciable percentage of persons of foreign origin today strictly belong to the category of Belgian nationals (as a result of naturalization) without their socio-professional adherences or socio-cultural characteristics having been altered in any way (the number of naturalized foreigners having been absorbed into the Belgian population

since 1947 is estimated at 170 000).

We think these remarks should suffice to show that the quantitative approach to the study of the young generations of immigrants which we are proposing here is more oriented towards establishing the order of magnitude of a problem and cannot claim to provide definitive and indisputable facts on the basis of criteria whose clarity is illusory.

Table 1 gives an overview of the immigrant population in Belgium according to nationality on the basis of the most recent data available, namely the population census of 1.3.1981.

Table 1 The immigrant population by region of residence and country of origin (1.3.1981)

Nationalities	Brussels	Walloon + German region	Flemish region	Belgium overall
Italy	35 809 (15.0)	213 409 (52.3)	30 482 (13.1)	279 700 (31.8)
Morocco	57 874 (24.3)	17 124 (4.2)	30 135 (13.0)	105 133 (12.0)
Spain	28 156 (11.8)	19 338 (4.7)	10 761 (4.6)	58 255 (6.6)
Turkey	15 820 (6.7)	17 076 (4.2)	30 691 (13.2)	63 587 (7.2)
Greece	9 629 (4.0)	7 735 (2.0)	3 866 (1.7)	21 230 (2.4)
Algeria	2 229 (0.9)	6 731 (1.6)	1 836 (0.8)	10 796 (1.2)
Portugal	4 793 (2.0)	3 460 (0.8)	2 229 (0.9)	10 482 (1.2)
Poland	954 (0.4)	5 234 (1.3)	1 454 (0.6)	7 642 (0.9)
Tunisia	3 190 (1.3)	1 681 (0.4)	2 000 (0.9)	6 871 (0.8)
Yugoslavia	2 594 (1.1)	2 011 (0.5)	1 256 (0.5)	5 861 (0.7)
Total	161 048 (67.7)	293 799 (72)	114 710 (49.3)	569 557 (64.8)
Other foreigners from				
Africa	-	-	-	14 539
the Americas	-	-	-	17 822
Asia	-	-	-	14 810
Europe	-	-	-	239 320
the S.Sea Islands	-	-	-	353
not known or stateless	-	-	-	1 843
refugees	-	-	-	20 333
Total	76 827 (32.3)	(28.0)	(50.7)	309 020 (35.2)
TOTAL	237 875 (100)	408 158 (100)	232 544 (100)	878 577 (100)

Sources: Institut National de Statistiques, Recensement de la Population et des Logements au 1er mars 1981, 1982, n° 1
(Population and housing census of March 1981, 1982, No. 1)

While the group of over 65-year olds account for 15.3 % of the Belgian population, it accounts for only 4.8 % of the population of foreigners. By contrast, 34.8 % of Belgian. are under 25 years, whereas as many as 49.9 % of foreigners are under 25. As shown in Table 2, this difference is greatest in the Brussels region.

Table 2. Percentages of under 25-year olds in the different regions of the country (1981)

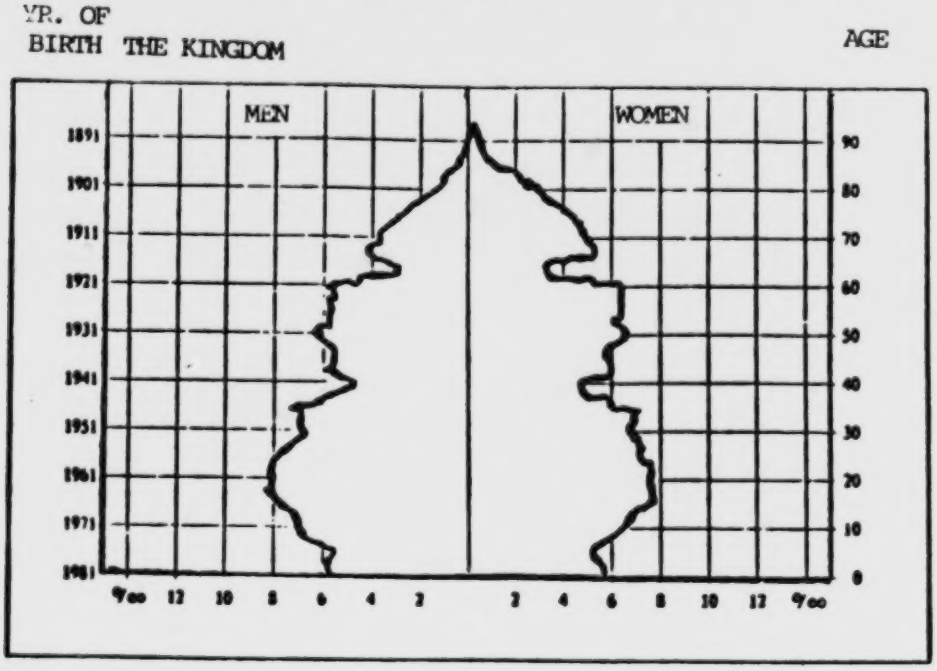
	Belgians	Foreigners
Brussels region	26.6	49.2
Flemish region	36.3	52.5
Walloon region	34.1	48.7
Belgium overall	34.8	49.9

Source: INS

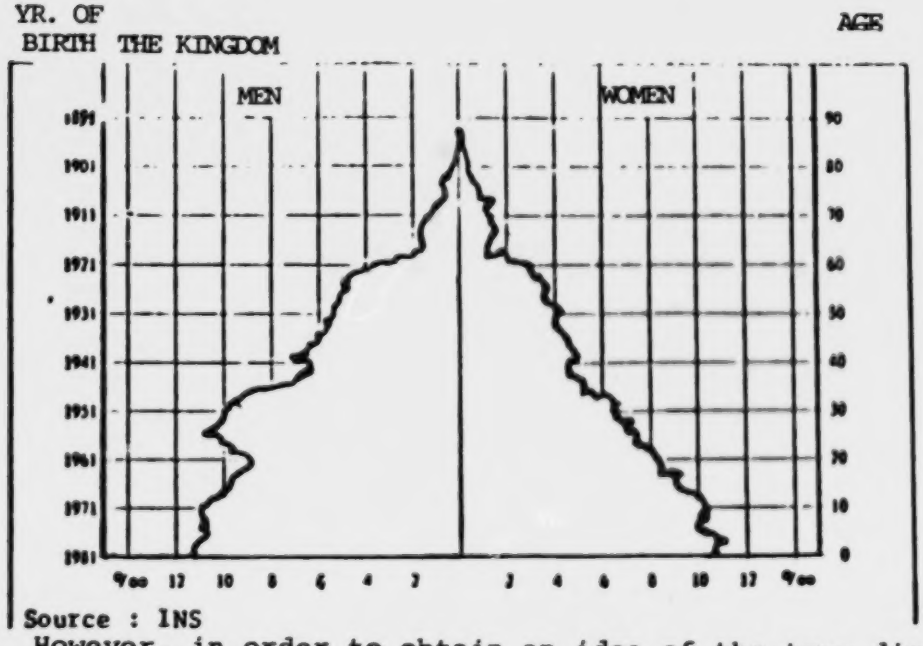
2.2 The young immigrant population

The population of foreigners in Belgium is thus overall younger than the Belgian population as a result of the remarkable differences between the age structures at the two extremes of the pyramid. This is easy to see in the following two graphs:

Belgian population by age and sex
on 1.3.1981



Foreign population by age and sex
on 1.3.1981



Source : INS

However, in order to obtain an idea of the true dimensions of the questions which can arise with regard to the fate of the young generations of immigrant origin it is worthwhile glancing at the absolute figures for this population, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Numbers of young foreigners under 25 years by age and nationality (1981)

Nationalities Age groups	Italy	Morocco	Spain	Turkey	Other foreigners	Total
0 - 4 years	25 852	20 095	4 109	12 653	33 899	96 608
5 - 9 years	27 826	16 186	4 637	9 480	34 770	92 899
10 - 14 years	27 612	12 426	5 974	7 446	35 181	88 639
15 - 19 years	27 297	9 071	6 927	6 568	30 717	80 580
20 - 24 years	26 277	10 875	5 784	6 528	29 841	79 305
Total	134 864	68 653	27 431	42 675	164 408	438 031

Source : INS - Institut National de Statistiques

On the basis of this data and with the knowledge that the total population under 25 in Belgium is 3 558 552, it can be seen that the young foreigners account for 12.3 % of the total. This percentage is, however, considerably different from that according to region since 36.7 % of the under-25s in Brussels are foreign, 17.2 % in Wallonia and 5.9 % in Flanders. In other words, in Brussels more than 1 young person under 25 out of 3 is a foreigner, in Wallonia 1 out of 6 and in Flanders 1 out of 17.

It should also be noted that the percentage of young foreigners under 25 in the total immigrant population increases from year to year. Thus in 1961 it was 6.1 %, in 1970 9.4 % and in 1977 11.5 %. The marked difference between the demographic dynamics of the Belgian and foreign populations (resulting from the younger structure of the foreign population and the differing reproductive

behaviour patterns permits the prediction that the percentage of young foreigners under the age of 25 can only increase during the next two decades. According to the data presented by A. Lambert (1980) it can be calculated that the percentage of young foreigners under 25 in Brussels in the year 2000 wil be 39 %, that in Wallonia 18.5 % in 1990 and 19.8 % in the year 2000, and that in Flanders 6.5 % in 1990 and 6.9 % in 2000 (1). These figures alone reveal the adaptations which will have to be made in the services for young children and schooools to take into account the altered distribution of nationalities. They also indicate that we may expect a continuing demographic pressure to be exerted by the young foreigners with regard to the demand for work, access to the labour market and, logically, the demand for vocational training.

In the Brussels region there are 117 057 foreigners under the age of 25, which is equal to 36.7 % of all young people in this age bracket. The main nationalities represented are Moroccans (37 356, i.e. 31.9 % of the total number of young foreigners), the Italians (16 919, i.e. 14.5 %), the Spaniards 12 260, i.e. 10.5 %) and the Turks (10 197, i.e. 8.7 %).

In the Walloon region there are 198 956 young immigrants under 25 years of age, who account for 17.2 % of this age group. The number of young Italians is 101 683 (51.1 %), that of young Spaniards 9 667 (4.9 %), that of young Turks 11 424 (5.7 %) and that of Moroccan under-25s 11 289 (5.7%)

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(1) It is however necessary to point out that in this study A. Lambert worked on the assumption that the rates of increase of fertility, mortality, migration and naturalization would in 1980 be sustained over the next two decades in both the Belgian and foreign populations. However, it is possible to imagine, for example, that the fertility rate will alter in relation to the duration of settlement and quasi-integration of the foreign population in the regional milieu. According to A. Lambert, even if these putative rates of increase were taken into account this would exert only a moderate dampening effect on the demographic trends which emerged in the nineteen seventies.

In the Flemish region there are 122 018 foreigners under 25, who account for 5.9 % of the total number of foreigners in this age group. As regards nationalities, there are 16 262 (13.3 %) Italians, 21 054 (17.3 %) Turks and 19 908 (16.3 %) Moroccans.

It is not possible to determine the ages of these young foreigners at the time of their immigration on the basis of the demographic statistics at present available. The only existing figures on the places of birth of these foreigners were compiled as part of the national population census carried out in December 1970 (1). The following table shows these statistics for the main immigrant nationalities of interest for this study.

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(1) The next census was carried out in March 1981 and the relevant data then collected are not yet available.

Table 4 Foreign population by nationality, sex and place of birth (1970)

Nationalities	Born						Total	% of foreigners born in Belgium
	in Belgium		in the country of their nationality		in a third country			
	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Italians	45 043	44 219	87 969	65 440	3 364	3 455	249 490	35,8 %
Greeks	3 633	3 489	7 731	6 499	529	473	22 354	31,9 %
Spaniards	7 100	6 833	26 134	25 600	883	984	67 534	20.6 %
Portuguese	514	515	3 006	2 662	254	226	7 177	14,3 %
Poles	3 691	3 003	5 284	4 412	993	987	18 370	36.4 %
Turks	2 000	1 747	9 165	6 120	731	549	20 312	18,4 %
Moroccans	3 914	3 733	19 407	10 491	1 004	745	39 294	19.5 %
Algerians	1 343	1 304	2 725	878	208	163	6 621	40.0 %
Others	40 487	41 729	...	...	...	...	265 130	31.0 %
Total	107.725	106.572	...	...	...	...	696 282	30.8 %

Source I.N.S. Recensement de la population 1970, tome 4 (1974).
Population census 1970, vol. 4 (1974)

Scrutiny of this table reveals that in 1970 an average of 30.8 % of the foreigners resident in Belgium were also born in Belgium. This is a relatively high figure and must be seen in relation to the familial aspect which characterizes migration to Belgium over the last two or three-decades. However, the percentage of foreigners born in Belgium varies from nationality to nationality. Rates exceeding the above average are found among those nationalities which have already been resident in Belgium for a long time (Italians: 35.8 %, Poles: 36.4 %). By contrast, the rates for nationalities of immigrants having arrived more recently are lower (Moroccans 19. 5 %, Turks 18.4 %). Although it is not possible to give exact figures it is obvious that in the case of these latter nationalities the percentage of those born in Belgium will have since risen owing to the number involved in the migratory flows and their relatively high fertility rates.

A further source of information (Table 5), less complete, but more recent, is open to us in the form of the figures published by the Ministry of National Education showing how many children in Belgian schools were born in Belgium and how many were not (1).

Table 5. Percentages of foreign schoolchildren born in Belgium (academic year 1978 - 1979)

Primary education	Lower secondary education	Higher secondary education
75.9 %	61.1 %	66.1 %

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(1) It is in fact known that the fact of having been born in the country in which education is received can have an effect on the school career of a child

2.2.1. Population of foreign schoolchildren

As of the academic year 1984 - 1985 the age of compulsory schooling has now been extended to include all children from 6 to 18 years of age. Previously the school-leaving age was 14. The young foreigners constitute a large proportion of those who are already in school or about to start. However, the statistics shown below - which date from the academic year 1981 -1982 and are at present the only data available - refer to the legal situation prior to 1984.

We shall neverthless begin by giving figures which do not normally have anything to do with compulsory education, namely those for attendance at pre-school institutions or nursery school. These figures are not unimportant since it is known from various surveys conducted at the European level that relatively extended and relatively regular attendance of young children at such institutions has an undeniable positive effect on their subsequent performance when they go on to primary school.

During the academic year 1981 - 1982 50 042 children of foreign origin were regularly enrolled at institutions of pre-school education, out of a total number of 386 100 pupils. This was equal to 66.2 % of the total number of children of foreign origin aged between 2 and 5 years who are potential candidates for pre-school education, whereas the corresponding rate among Belgian nationals was 82.5 %.

Table 6. Number of schoolchildren in Belgium in the academic year 1981 - 1982

	Belgians	Foreigners	Total
Primary level (ordinary)			
Instruction in the French language	275 727 (70.1 %)	82 658 (29.9 %)	358 385 (100 %)
Instruction in the Flemish language	436 655 (94.4 %)	26 019 (5.6 %)	462 674 (100 %)
Total	712 382 (84.7 %)	108 677 (15.3 %)	821 059 (100 %)
Secondary level (ordinary)			
Instruction in the French language	273 169 (77.3 %)	62 167 (22.7 %)	335 336 (100 %)
Instruction in the Flemish language	481 814 (91.4 %)	18 027 (3.6 %)	499 841 (100 %)
Total	754 983 (90.4 %)	80 194 (9.6 %)	835 177 (100 %)

Sources: Etudes et Documents de la Direction Générale de l'Organisation des Etudes (French system) Nos. 2 and 4 1982
Statistisch Jaarboek van het Ministerie van Nederlandstalige Opvoeding, academic year 1981 - 1982

In addition to these general statistics it is also useful to know how many immigrants are receiving special education (this applies to all pupils considered to be incapable of attending normal schoools owing to a mental or physical handicap). The figures published by the Direction Générale de l'Organisation des Etudes du régime francais (General Board for the Organization of Studies of the French system) were as follows:

Table 7. Foreign children receiving special education at the primary and secondary levels (1981 - 1982) - French system

	Primary level	Secondary level
Belgians	10 948	10 236
Foreigners	3 579	3 621
Total	14 527	13 857

Source: Etudes et Documents de l'Organisation Générale des Etudes, No.3, 1982.

From the figures in Table 7 it can be deduced that out out of the total number of school children at the primary level 3.9 % are Belgians in special education and 4.2 % foreigners receiving special education. 3.6 % of Belgian secondary school pupils and 5.5 % of immigrant secondary school pupils are at special schools.

As regards the Flemish system, the figures given in the Statistische Jaarboek van het Ministerie van Nederlandstalige Opvoeding for the academic year 1979 - 1980 were 826 foreign pupils receiving primary special education, i.e. 3.5 % of the total number of foreign school children at this level.

2.2.2 Distribution of schoolchildren among the different branches of secondary education according to nationality

For the present review it is more important to know the percentages of young foreigners in the different branches

of secondary education (general, technical or vocational) owing to the type of vocational qualification they will have obtained from the respective branches when they arrive on the labour market. Unfortunately, owing partly to the division of the school systems into linguistic sectors and partly to the educational reform movement which conceals the actual vocational objectives in certain sections it had become virtually impossible to give homogeneous and complete statistics. We have as far as possible put together the available information for the academic year 1981 - 1982.

Table 8. Belgian and foreign pupils in the different branches of secondary education (French linguistic system), academic year 1981 - 1982

"Type 1", reformed secondary education

	General education branch	Technical education branch	Vocational education branch
Level 1*			
Belgians	-	-	-
Foreigners	-	-	-
Overall	104 961	-	11 108
Level 2*			
Belgians	-	-	-
Foreigners	-	-	-
Overall	44 785	30 384	31 369
Level 3*			
Belgians	-	-	-
Foreigners	-	-	-
Overall	14 956	12 890	8 627
Overall total	164 702 (63.6 %)	43 274 (16.7 %)	51 104 (19.7 %)
	= 259 080 (100 %)		

"Type 2", traditional secondary education

	General education branch	Technical education branch	Vocational education branch
Belgians	34 907	14 281	13 538
Foreigners	4 578	3 567	5 385
Total	39 485 (51.8 %)	17 848 (23.4 %)	18 923 (24.8 %)
	= 76 256 (100 %)		

* Level 1/Level 2/Level 3 : 1er degré, 2ème degré, 3ème degré

Table 8 (continued)

	General education branch	Technical education branch	Vocational education branch
Overall total Types 1 + 2	204 187 (60.9 %)	61 122 (18.2 %) = 335 336 (100 %)	70 027 (20.9 %)

Table 9	General education branch	Technical education branch	Vocational education branch
Belgians	238 954	145 076	98 640
Foreigners	6 844	4 602	6 400
Total	245 798 (49.1 %)	149 678 (29.9 %) = 500 516 (100 %)	105 040 (21.0 %)

Table 9 Belgian and foreign pupils in the different branches of secondary education (Dutch linguistic system). Academic year 1981 - 1982.

Source: Direction Générale de l'Organisation des Etudes, Etudes et Documents 1982; Statisch Jaarboek van het onderwijs, 1981-1982

Certain conclusions can be drawn from Tables 8 and 9.

In the French liguistic community, if we keep to the traditional institutions of secondary education (the only kind for which it is possible to determine the relative proportions of Belgians and foreigners), it can be seen that 55.6 % of the young Belgians are in the general education branch, while only 33.8 % of their foreign counterparts are to be found in this branch. In the technical branch there are 22.8 % of young Belgians and 26.3 % of young foreigners, and finally, 21.6 % of young Belgians but 39.8 % of young immigrants are to be found in the vocational branch.

In the Dutch linguistic community the situation is roughly similar: while 49.5 % of young Belgians are receiving general education only 38.5 % of young foreigners are to be found in this branch; the respective percentages for technical education are 30.1 % and 25.7 %, while those for vocational training in schools are 20.4 % and 35.8 %.

The figures for young foreigners in the technical and vocational branches of (school) education would not be complete without the addition of those attending "social advancement" courses. The students attending these courses are as a rule over 18 years of age and are pursuing the same goals as those set in day-time courses.

Table 10. Students attending "social advancement" courses shown according to sex and level of studies (French linguistic system, school year 1981 - 1982)

	M	F	
Lower sec. level technical courses	12 488	10 650	
Higher sec. level technical courses	15 396	16 236	
Higher level techn. courses (Level 1*)	5 002	1 967	
Higher level techn. courses (Level 2*)	505	207	
Lower sec. level vocational courses	19 836	9 394	
Higher sec. level vocational courses	1 875	789	
Complementary sec. level vocational courses	46	123	
Special education	40	95	
Regular courses	1 861	1 152	
Total	46 607	51 005	= 97 612

*Level 1/Level 2 : 1er degré, 2ème degré

It is known that students in this population under the age of 25 account for roughly 50 % of the total and furthermore, that those of foreign nationality account for about 25 % of this same total population. It can thus be reliably estimated that approximately 12 000 young people of immigrant origin are enrolled in social advancement courses.

In the Dutch linguistic system 5 703 young foreigners were taking social advancement courses, viz. 2 800 young people of immigrant origin.

2.2.3. Young immigrants available to the labour market

The structure of vocational activities of immigrants in general has been extensively studied in Belgium and the results are well known (1). However, the same does not apply to the "second generation". The most recent quantitative data available date as far back as the socio-economic survey conducted in 1977 by the Institut National de Statistique.

In 1977 the number of young foreigners under 25 available to the labour market was 69 279 (62 % men and 38 % women), that of young Belgians 720 178 (55 % men and 45 % women). 9-8 % of young working men are foreigners and 7.5 % of young working women.

All available figures on the available labour forces and vocational qualifications published by us elsewhere (2) are given below.

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(1) cf. A. Martens (1976), S. Panciera - B Ducoli (1976)
(2) cf. A. Bastenier - F. Dassetto (1981)

Table 11. Belgian and foreign labour forces shown according to sex and age group (1977)

	BELGIANS		FOREIGNERS	
	M	F	M	F
Kingdom				
15 - 19	30.3	24.7	35.4	25.5
20 - 24	79.1	69.6	84.6	54.8
25 +	72.3	28.1	76.1	30.4
Total	53.6	25.4	49.-	21.3
Brussels				
15 - 19	20.7	18.-	29.7	20.9
20 - 24	63.2	63.7	78.5	51.1
25 +	72.6	29.9	83.3	39.7
Total	55.7	31.-	50.5	25,-
Flemish region				
15 - 19	32.-	26.8	37.5	29.3
20 - 24	81.1	73.2	82.7	48.5
25 +	74.1	27.4	80.8	24.5
Total	54.3	25.2	50.7	17.6
Walloon region				
15 - 19	29.2	21.8	36.9	25.5
20 - 24	78.4	62.8	87.7	49.5
25 +	68.9	26.9	70.5	28.-
Total	51.9	24.1	47.2	21.3

Source: INS, socio-economic survey 1977.

With regard to the above table it should be emphasized that the labour forces can only be properly analyzed if distinctions are made between the age groups ans sexes, since these are two stategic variables. Moreover, it must be constantly borne in mind that a comparison of the figures for Belgians and foreigners is in fact a comparison of two different socio-occupational entities, as it is not possible to sort the available data for those not included in the labour force according to socio-occupational categories. Thus it should be noted that while the foreign population tends to be homogenous, the Belgian population includes all occupational categories.

Finally, it should be taken into account what the categories of working and non-working persons include. The working population (labour force) includes the total working population in employment, the unemployed and the militia. The non-working population comprises all categories of persons with no occupation for which they receive re u eration or which is measured in financial terms. It thus includes students and pensioners, also housewives, permanent invalides and "aidants" (assistants not receiving a wage)* working less than 15 hours per week (1). This method of organizing the statistics makes it very difficult to analyze them, particularly in the case of the feminine population.

2.2.4. The level of vocational qualification

It is not possible to analyze these data in any great depth since the descriptions of the qualifications are inadequate, particularly those on "white collar" qualifications, which include widely varying job descriptions.

The results of the socio-economic survey conducted by the INS in 1977 provide us with a picture of the situations for three different age groups: up to 19 years, from 20 to 24 years and 25 years and over. These three age groups in fact have very different structural significance. In the group of up-to-nineteen year-olds we find young people who have completed lower level secondary education and are entering the labour market. The 20 - 24 years group is that which best corresponds to the overall average for the population of young "second generation" immigrants (it also includes young people having entered the labour maket at an early age

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(1) A critical analysis of the concept on non-working population used in these statistics in given in: D.P: Courtheoux, Mesure et structure de la population inactive, Centre de recherche d'urbanisme, Paris, 1977

*Translator's note: e.g. members of family helping in family business

and others having entered it after having completed higher secondary education). The group of over 25 year-olds is more representative of the first generation immigrants.

Table 12 Socio-occupational categories by nationality, age group and sex (whole country) 1977

	Employers, independents		White-collar workers		Blue-collar workers		"Aidants"*		Not known		Total	
	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F
Men												
- 19	1,- (0,4)	1,1 (0,2)	13,7 (12,5)	5,5 (5,2)	80,4 (79,9)	90,8 (91,8)	4,7 (7,1)	2,4 (2,5)	0,2 (0,1)	0,2 (0,3)	100	100
20-24	4,8 (4,4)	3,3 (2,7)	33,8 (31,5)	12,1 (15,5)	58,7 (60,1)	83,5 (80,6)	2,6 (3,9)	0,8 (1,1)	0,1 (0,-)	0,2 (0,1)	100	100
25 +	18,2 (20,3)	11,2 (10,3)	40,1 (33,8)	21,6 (19,1)	41,2 (44,9)	66,7 (69,7)	0,4 (0,9)	0,3 (0,7)	0,1 (0,1)	0,2 (0,2)	100	100
Women												
- 19	0,9 (0,7)	0,2 (0,4)	35,7 (34,5)	24,1 (24,6)	60,5 (60,9)	74,5 (72,7)	2,7 (3,8)	1,- (2,1)	0,2 (0,1)	0,2 (0,3)	100	100
20-24	3,6 (4,1)	3,4 (3,3)	64,4 (58,9)	44,3 (38,4)	29,9 (33,9)	49,3 (55,8)	2,- (2,9)	2,7 (2,1)	0,1 (0,1)	0,3 (0,3)	100	100
25 +	12,9 (17,9)	26,3 (10,7)	48,7 (41,7)	31,2 (27,6)	25,8 (30,7)	49,4 (56,9)	7,2 (9,5)	5,7 (4,7)	0,1 (0,1)	0,2 (0,2)	100	100

Source : INS, Enquête socio-économique, 1977.
Institut National de Statistiques, Socio-economic survey, 1977

*see footnote, p. 25

Table 13 Socio-occupational categories by nationality, age group and sex (Brussels region) 1977

	Employers, independents		White-collar workers		Blue-collar workers		"Aidants"*		Not known		Total	
	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F
Men												
- 19	0,3	0,7	23,5	7,1	73,6	87,9	1,7	3,6	0,9	0,7	100	100
20-24	5,5	3,5	54,8	19,1	38,4	76,3	1,-	0,7	0,3	0,3	100	100
25 +	17,8	13,2	58,-	26,-	23,8	60,4	0,3	0,2	0,2	0,2	100	100
Total	16,6	11,9	57,1	24,6	25,7	62,8	0,4	0,4	0,2	0,3	100	100
Women												
- 19	0,3	1,1	52,7	17,2	44,8	79,3	1,8	1,1	0,3	1,1	100	100
20-24	2,7	3,5	79,8	45,7	16,2	48,8	1,1	2,-	0,3	0,-	100	100
25 +	10,4	11,2	64,2	30,1	19,3	54,-	6,-	4,6	0,3	0,2	100	100
Total	9,3	9,6	65,3	31,4	19,7	54,8	5,4	4,-	0,3	0,2	100	100

Source : INS.

*see footnote, p. 25

Table 14 Socio-occupational categories by nationality, age group and sex (Walloon region) 1977

	Employers, independents		White-collar workers		Blue-collar workers		"Aidants"*		Not known		Total	
	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F
Men												
- 19	1,2	0,7	16,5	4,5	77,-	92,4	4,8	2,2	0,4	0,2	100	100
20-24	5,2	2,2	35,3	9,9	57,3	87,3	2,-	0,4	0,2	0,2	100	100
25 +	18,3	9,-	41,2	15,2	40,1	75,3	0,3	0,3	0,2	0,3	100	100
Total	16,1	7,4	39,6	13,7	43,5	78,2	0,6	0,4	0,2	0,3	100	100
Women												
- 19	1,3	0,-	39,6	28,3	55,3	70,2	3,5	1,5	0,4	0,-	100	100
20-24	4,2	3,1	69,5	47,-	24,1	47,4	2,1	2,2	0,2	0,2	100	100
25 +	14,9	14,1	53,8	28,7	22,9	51,2	8,3	5,8	0,1	0,3	100	100
Total	12,2	10,2	55,8	32,6	25,-	52,5	6,9	4,6	0,1	0,2	100	100

Source : INS.

*see footnote, p. 25

Table 15 Socio-occupational categories by nationality, age group and sex (Flemish region) 1977

	Employers, independents		White-collar workers		Blue-collar workers		"Aidants"*		Not known		Total	
	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F
Men												
- 19	0,9	2,2	11,9	6,3	82,2	89,6	4,8	2,-	0,1	0,-	100	100
20-24	4,5	5,6	31,4	12,4	60,9	80,3	3,1	1,7	0,1	0,-	100	100
25 +	18,3	12,8	36,7	27,6	44,6	59,2	0,4	0,3	0,-	0,-	100	100
Total	15,9	11,4	35,-	24,6	48,2	63,1	0,9	0,6	0,-	0,-	100	100
Women												
- 19	0,9	0,-	32,9	21,6	63,5	78,4	2,6	0,-	0,1	0,-	100	100
20-24	3,4	4,-	60,7	36,9	33,7	54,3	2,1	4,3	0,1	0,6	100	100
25 +	13,9	17,2	46,2	38,8	32,1	36,4	7,7	7,6	0,-	0,-	100	100
Total	10,6	12,-	48,3	35,9	35,-	46,2	6,1	5,8	0,-	0,1	100	100

Source : INS.

*see footnote, p. 25

Table 16 Workers' qualifications by nationality, age group and sex (Walloon region) (1977)

	Ind. supervisors		Skilled, semi-sk.+ 'specialized'* workers		Other workers		Total	
	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F
Men								
- 19	0,1	0,-	83,4	80,7	16,5	19,3	100	100
20 - 24	1,6	1,3	85,-	84,3	13,3	14,4	100	100
25 +	9,6	4,4	79,-	80,3	11,3	15,3	100	100
Total	7,8	3,6	80,2	81,-	12,-	15,5	100	100
Women								
- 19	0,1	0,-	78,6	85,6	21,3	14,4	100	100
20 - 24	0,4	0,-	71,4	71,1	28,2	28,9	100	100
25 +	1,1	0,2	55,1	54,6	43,8	45,2	100	100
Total	0,9	0,2	60,8	62,4	38,3	37,4	100	100

Source: INS

Table 17 Workers' qualifications by nationality, age group and sex (Flemish region) (1977)

	Ind.supervisors		Skilled, semi-skilled + 'specialized'* workers		Other workers		Total	
	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F
Men								
- 19	0,2	0,-	89,6	86,9	10,2	13,1	100	100
20 - 24	1,4	1,3	87,5	87,2	11,1	11,5	100	100
25 +	6,8	4,7	80,4	80,9	12,8	14,4	100	100
Total	5,5	3,8	82,2	82,3	12,4	13,9	100	100
Women								
- 19	0,1	0,-	83,6	85,5	16,3	14,5	100	100
20 - 24	0,4	0,-	81,3	83,9	18,3	16,1	100	100
25 +	1,2	2,3	66,7	67,2	32,1	30,5	100	100
Total	0,9	1,2	72,3	75,7	26,9	23,-	100	100

Source: INS

*see footnote, p. 40

Table 16 Workers' qualifications by nationality, age group and sex (Brussels region) (1977)

	Ind. supervisors		Skilled, semi-skilled + 'specialized'* workers		Other workers		Total	
	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F
Men								
- 19	0,-	0,-	80,2	68,9	19,8	31,1	100	100
20 - 24	2,2	0,5	76,1	73,6	21,7	25,9	100	100
25 +	11,4	2,8	71,5	72,9	17,1	24,3	100	100
Total	9,8	2,4	72,5	72,7	17,7	24,9	100	100
Women								
- 19	0,-	0,-	64,1	60,9	35,9	39,1	100	100
20 - 24	1,7	0,-	64,7	57,7	33,7	42,3	100	100
25 +	0,8	0,2	57,5	48,5	41,7	51,3	100	100
Total	0,9	0,1	58,5	50,7	40,6	49,2	100	100

Source: INS

Table 19 Workers' qualifications by nationality, age group and sex (Belgium overall) (1977)

	Ind. supervisors		Skilled, semi-skilled + 'specialized'* workers		Other workers		Total	
	B	F	B	F	B	F	B	F
Men								
- 19	0,2	-	87,5	80,2	12,3	19,8	100	100
20 - 24	1,5	1,2	85,4	83,4	12,1	15,4	100	100
25 +	7,8	4,1	79,5	78,6	12,6	17,3	100	100
Total	6,3	3,4	81,1	79,5	12,5	17,2	100	100
Women								
- 19	0,008	-	81,7	80,5	18,2	19,5	100	100
20 - 24	0,4	-	78,5	71,2	21,1	28,8	100	100
25 +	1,1	0,5	52,8	53,9	36,1	45,6	100	100
Total	0,9	0,3	68,3	60,8	30,8	38,8	100	100

Source: INS

*see footnote, p. 40

2.2.5. Unemployment among the young immigrants

The deterioration in the employment situation in Belgium, which has become more rapid during the past few years, has led to an increase in the number of unemployed receiving full benefit. This increase has been more rapid in the group of under 25s in the working population than in the higher age brackets. Thus it has been the young people, both Belgian and foreign, who have been worst affected by the unemployment. Therefore unemployment among the young foreigners should first be considered from this aspect. In 1974 the young people accounted for 20.5 % of the total unemployed and in 1984 the rate had rised to 30%.

However, it is not sufficient to use age as a criterion, since it is known that the two groups of young Belgians and young foreigners are not comparable if one takes into account the variable of level of education, which is particularly important with regard to unemployment. As shown by the following table the level of schooling (and consequently the level of qualification) has a strong influence on the risk of exposure to unemployment: more than 65 % of young unemployed persons have a very low level of education, whether primary or vocational.

Table 20. Distribution of young unemployed persons according to level of education (1982)

	Abs.	%
Primary education	46 626	(31.0)
Lower-level secondary education		
General	6 557	(4.4)
Technical	14 651	(9.7)
Vocational	31 856	(21.2)
Higher-level secondary education		
General	9 095	(6.1)
Technical	12.021	(8.0)
Vocational	13 554	(9.0)
Apprenticeship	4 247	(2.8)
Others and higher education	11 187	(7.8)
Total	150 366	(100.-)

Source: National Employment Office, Chomage des jeunes. Synopsis of the trends from 1970 to 1982.

Finally, inclusion in the category of "foreigners" constitutes an additional variable which shows the specific unemployment rate for young people of varying foreign origin: the index for unemployment among young people under 25 in general increased from 100 in 1974 to 546 in 1984. During the same period the same index for young foreigners under 25 increased from 100 to 703.

Owing to the state of the statistics on unemployment in Belgium it is not possible to give comparative rates of unemployment for young Belgians and young foreigners which are completely reliable. We have nevertheless attempted to establish data which are as comparable as possible in this respect. They are shown for the whole Kingdom and the three separate regions in the following tables.

Table 21 Unemployed persons receiving benefit and job-seekers in the group of young people under 25 years - Belgians and foreigners (Belgium overall) at 30.9.84

		1 Population aged between 15 and 25 yrs.	2 Working population (estimated)	3 No. of unemployed receiving full benefit	4 No. of job-seekers (estimated)	5 % of unemployed in working population (3/2)	6 % of job-seekers in the working population (4/2)
Belgians		1.426.184	723.000 (50,7 %)	130.433	209.800	18,0 %	29,0 %
Foreigners		159.885	79.000 (49,3 %)	21.000	33.500	26,6 %	42;4 %
of whom	Italians	53.574	26.500	7.883	12.500	29,7 %	47,2 %
	Spaniards	12.711	6.250	1.149	1.850	18,4 %	29,6 %
	Moroccans	19.946	9.850	1.384 (*)	5.000	14,1 % (*)	50,1 %
	Turks	13.096	6.450	2.291	3.650	35,5 %	56,6 %
Total		1.586.069	802.000	151.433	243.300	18,9 %	30,3 %

(*) These low figures are due to the fact that young people of Moroccan extraction are not permitted to become registered as unemployed on the basis of schooling received in Belgium.

Sources: Column 1 : INS
Column 3 : ONEM
Columns 2 and 4 - 6 : our own calculations. The working population was estimated on the basis of the most recent figures published, namely those in the socio-economic survey of the INS, 1977. The number of job-seekers was estimated on the basis of the calculation of the ONEM, which gives a figure of 63 % for the percentage of unemployed persons receiving full benefit out of the total number of job-seekers. In the case of the Moroccans, the estimation of the number of job-seekers has been adjusted.

Table 22 Unemployed persons receiving benefit and job-seekers in the group of young people under 25 years - Belgians and foreigners (Brussels region) at 30.9.84

		1 Population aged between 15 and 25 years	2 Working population (estimated)	3 No. of unemployed receiving full benefit	4 No. of job-seekers (estimated)	5 % of unemployed in working population (3/2)	6 % of job-seekers in the working population (4/2)
Belgians		102.579	41.500 (40,4 %)	7.459	11.850	18,0 %	28,6 %
Foreigners		43.537	18.800 (43,2 %)	3.289	6.1210	17,5 %	32,6 %
of whom	Italians	6.706	2.900	673	1.070	23,2 %	36,9 %
	Spaniards	5.566	2.400	505	800	21,0 %	33,3 %
	Moroccans	11.327	4.900	841 (+)	2.250	17,2 % (+)	45,9 %
	Turks	2.999	1.300	484	770	37,2 %	59,2 %
Total		146.116	60.300	10.748	17.970	17,8 %	29,8 %

Table 23 Unemployed persons receiving benefit and job-seekers in the group of young people under 25 - Belgians and foreigners - (Walloon region) at 30.9.84

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Population aged between 15 and 25 years	Working population (estimated)	No. of unemployed receiving full benefit	No. of job seekers (estimated)	% of unemployed in working population (3/2)	% of job-seekers in the working population (4/2)
Belgians	426.526	206.000 (48,3 %)	43.341	68.800	21,0 %	33,4 %
Foreigners	76.603	39.600 (51,7 %)	9.808	16.200	24,8 %	40,9 %
of whom Italians	40.999	21.200	6.361	10.100	30,0 %	47,6 %
Spaniards	4.820	2.500	352	560	14,1 %	22,4 %
Moroccans	3.875	2.000	165 (*)	950	8,3 %	47,5 %
Turks	3.888	2.000	722	1.150	36,1 %	57,5 %
Total	503.129	245.600	53.149	85.000	21,6 %	34,6 %

Table 24 Unemployed persons receiving benefit and job-seekers in the group of young persons under 25 - Belgians and foreigners (Flemish region) at 30.9.84

		1	2	3	4	5	6
		Population aged between 15 and 25 years	Working population (estimated)	No. of unemployed receiving full benefit	No. of job-seekers (estimated)	% of unemployed in working population (3/2)	% of job-seekers in the working population (4/2)
Belgians		897.079	475.500 (53,0 %)	79.633	126.400	16,7 %	26,6 %
Foreigners		39.745	19.650 (49,5 %)	3.718	6.450	18,9 %	32,8 %
of whom	Italians	5.869	2.900	849	1.350	29,3 %	46,5 %
	Spaniards	2.325	1.150	292	465	2_,4 %	40,4 %
	Moroccans	4.744	2.350	378 (*)	1.150	16,1 %	48,9 %
	Turks	6.209	3.100	1.085	1.720	35,0 %	55,5 %
Total		936.824	495.150	83.351	132.850	16,8 %	26,8 %

3. ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEMS BY SPHERE

3.1. The transition from school to work

As we have already seen, in 1982 there were 160 000 young foreigners in Belgium aged between 14 and 24 years. Of this total, about 80 000 were receiving education (50 %) and 80 000 were on the labour market, or at least trying to gain access to it.

What do we know about the level of vocational training of these 80 000? In fact, very little, since few investigations have been carried out in this field. The small amount of data available is assembled below.

In 1982 the working population of young foreigners was 80 00 (about 60 % of whom were men and 38 % women) as opposed to 726 000 Belgians in the same category (55 % men and 45 % women).

3.1.1. Availability to the labour market and levels of vocational qualification

The figures for the male labour forces given under 2.2.3. are higher for the young foreigners than for the young Belgians in the age froup from 15 - 19 years. This reveals that the two groups enter the labour market at different ages, the young immigrants starting work earlier than their Belgian counterparts.

With regard to the feminine population it is evident that slightly more young immigrant women aged between 15 and 19 years are available to the market than Belgian women in the same age group. Thus again, the immigrants

start work earlier than the Belgians. However, for the 20 - 25 year-olds these rates are reversed and that for the immigrants is lower.

With regard to the qualifications, as shown by the statistics under 2.2.4., the male immigrant population between 15 and 19 years includes a considerably higher proportion of blue-collar workers than the corresponding Belgian population: 93.2 % as opposed to 85.1%.

In the group aged between 20 and 24 years this disparity is strikingly increased: 61.3 % of Belgian workers were blue-collar workers as opposed to 84.3 % immigrants. This difference of 23 % reveals what it is that distinguishes the second generation immigrant from his Belgian counterpart

Closer scrutiny of the qualifications of young Belgian and immigrant male blue-collar workers reveals the following:

- up to the age of 19 19.8 % of immigrant blue-collar workers are manual labourers, but only 12.3 % of their Belgian counterparts; 80.2 % of the immigrants are specialized (spécialisés)*, semi-skilled or skilled as opposed to 87.5 % of Belgian blue-collar workers.
- in the 20 to 24-year group 15.4 % of immigrants and 12.1 % of Belgians are labourers; 83.4 % of immigrants are specialized (spécialisés), semi-skilled or skilled in contrast to 86.4 % of the Belgians.

Comparison of these figures with those for the over 25 year-olds shows that the young male immigrant population occupies a similar position on the labour market to that of the first generation immigrants. It also reveals that the young immigrants are less well qualified than their Belgian counterparts.

* Translator's note: ouvrier spécialisé: Belgian category of blue-collar worker between a manual labourer and a semi-skilled worker

As regards the female population, the difference between Belgians and foreigners appears to be even more marked than in the male population:

- in the group of 15 to 19 year-olds 75.5 % of foreigners are manual workers or "aidants" (see footnote, p. 25) as opposed to 63.2 % of Belgian female manual workers;
- in the group aged between 20 and 24 it is noticeable that there is general access to the status of white-collar worker; however, this applies less to the foreigners (52 % of them remain manual workers in contrast to 31.9 % of the Belgian women).

The qualification structure for the population of female blue-collar workers shows the foreigners to have lower qualifications than the Belgians in all age brackets.

This first fact to emerge is characteristic of the phase of transition between compulsory education and the rest of a young foreigner's professional career. It tends to show that young foreigners are doomed to occupy a relatively similar position on the labour market as their elders, the main reason for this being the fact that their vocational qualifications are not in fact very different from those of the first generation.

Is it possible to draw up any hypothses which would cover this situation? No systematic survey on young people's vocational choices and careers is available in Belgium. However, some individual investigations conducted by competent observers in specific fields and what is shown by research on schooling of children in general should throw some light on the issue.

3.1.2. School as a "waiting room" and the lack of motivation for vocational training

In her survey on the school and vocational careers of young Moroccans on a small village in Brabant G. Hermant (1978) investigated the issue of the lack of or failure to complete schooling of foreign children in Belgium. With respect to the question as to why so many young immigrants leave school without having obtained any kind of vocational diploma she arrives at the hypothesis that for several children school is nothing but a kind of "waiting room" where they wait for the moment when they will be able to join the labour force. Further, that for a number of reasons which remain to be established, objectively speaking school fulfils no other function that that of a centre of purely physical reproduction of the potentially available labour force - and that this is a function of school which would be worth investigating. Whereas the years of compulsory schooling are generally considered to be a fulfilling period which is of condsiderable importance as regards the acquisition of a minimum level of training, she maintains that in the case of young immigrants it is regarded as a legal obligation whose potential advantages are neither exploited nor exploitable.

In this respect, as noted by G. Hermant, the situation of immigrant families and their children is fairly similar to that of the families of unqualified Belgian workers. In fact, according to the results of the surveys carried out by the Ministry of National Education on the success and type of training chosen in relation to the social background of the children (1974,1977) the position of immigrant children in this respect is very similar to that of children of non-skilled Belgian workers. This observation has,

moreover, been taken up and thoroughly investigated by F. Dassetto and F. Santagata (1978). An initial explanation of the phenomenon of lacking qualifications among young immigrants would thus appear to be that they are mostly the sons of unskilled workers and that school does not appear to do anything to alter a child's basic situation.

Pursuing her idea further, G. Hermanant (1978) wonders whether other more specific factors are not nonetheless involved in the particular case of immigrants. She points out that it is not possible to separate the attitudes and motivations towards education in general and towards vocational training in particular from the motivations and qualification requirements of the labour market itself. In the case of the immigrants these motivations can theoretically be of a dual nature: they may originate from the local labour market or from that of the country of origin, in association with the prospect of possibly returning. What is actually observable? asks Hermanant. On the one hand that the Belgian labour market makes practically no demands on immigrant manual labourers (either first or second generation) as regards qualifications; and on the other hand, that the permanence of the situation of non-development of the main regions from which the immigrant families originate perpetuates non-employment and reduces chances of becoming re-integrated on the basis of a qualification obtained during the migrant expedition to practically nil. It can be concluded that the result of both of these circumstances is a lack of motivation for vocational training. For a long period (from 1945 to 1970) immigrants were expected to do inferior jobs requiring little qualification or none at all, which were disdained by the Belgians. Since 1970 the situation has without doubt changed, but far from improving it is, on the contrary, deteriorating

since from now on young immigrants have to find their place in a society (whether temporary host or country of origin) which not only does not expect them to have any real occupation or profession, but also, which is even worse, makes it clear that it has no need of them at all, even as a purely physical, unqualified work force.

This approach of Hermant's brings us right to the crux of what is nowadays known as the "problem of the second generation": while they continue to show to a considerable extent the same characteristics as their parents as regards the social and cultural fringe status, today the risk is likely to be that they will gain a further factor predisposing to relegation, namely that of lack of work in a society in crisis in which signs of hostility towards them are increasing.

3.1.3. The effects of repeating a school year on training plans

Studies conducted in Belgium in the field of educational sociology in general and more specific research whose main interest is the education of immigrant children (the latter moreover being the area in which most research on immigration has been carried out) can contribute towards the formulation of a second hypothesis about our original observation.

Nizet and Deprez (1972) investigated the phenomenon of social inequality in connection with failure in school. Their findings constitute a valuable complement to the numerous studies which had already spotlighted the social inequality behind varying school success. Out of a sample of 304 fathers with at least one son having attended the first year of secondary education in Wallonia they show that the inequality of success which is manifested in the fact of having to repeat a class also tends to bar those affected from gaining access

to any of the type of education and, more generally, reduces them to the status of second-class users of the system. Having to repeat a class in school in fact amounts to relegation, since a pupil only has to repeat a class once in primary school for his subsequent results to be virtually without effect on his choice of secondary education branch. The practice of having pupils repeat classes systematically excludes them from the higher level streams: whatever their final results, their chances of choosing general education are no higher than 1 in 4.

Moreover, in view of the known problems of immigrant children with regard to repeating classes it is difficult not to compare their situation with that described by Nizet and Deprez, for whom "staying down" amounts to relegation because it affects the attitude of a child to school as an institution, which has, symbolically, rejected him at least once. This calls into question his entire personal merit and cannot but have an effect on the career plans which a family make for their child. If a child who has repeated a class is destined to make less than full use of the school system it is because the failure sanctioned by "staying down" has an influence on the families' plans or the age of the child is one of the factors which determine the time available to the family for completing the child's school education.

3.1.4. The educational situation of immigrant schoolchildren

The fact that repeating a class in primary school is tantamount to being condemmed, apparently without any chance

of reprieve, shows the importance of studies on the levels of education reached by young immigrants in primary school in Belgium.

We shall base ourselves on the analysis conducted by C. Marques Balsa (1978). It has a high level of reliability since it both reviews and synthesizes all conclusions arrived at in previous studies and compares these results with those of a new survey consisting of interviews with 720 heads of immigrant households with at least one child of school age (the nationalities included were: Italians, Spaniards, Turks and Moroccans).

The figures presented by Marques Balsa on the levels of education reached by foreign children at primary level are revealing: 54.4 % normal, 24.7 % one year behind and 20.9 % two or more years behind.

Although these percentages are not representative of the whole foreign population, they would appear to be very reliable and are more or less in line with those published by the Ministry of National Education on the basis of the surveys conducted in 1974 and 1977. Very similar figures are given by Vanderperre (1981) and Roosens (1979). Thus overall more than 45 % of foreign children at primary school are one or more years behind. However, this figure increases if we include the last year of primary education, i.e. the year in which it is decided what direction a child's future schooling is to take on the basis of the vocational qualification to which he aspires. In the 6th year of primary school 56.8 % of the foreign pupils are at least on year behind.

Is it possible to determine what factors or characteristics specific to immigrant children (and their families)

are likely to be responsible for this situation? Marques Balsa applied himself to the problem and his observations extensively corroborate the results of the survey conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany by CEDEFOP (European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training) and the Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (BIBB - Federal Institute for Vocational Training).

a) The age of the children at the time of their arrival in Belgium: Marques Balsa reported that children born in Belgium or having arrived before the age of one year (that is, almost 60 % of his sample) have much more favorable prospects than those who arrrive later. In the first group the percentage of children behind at school is 33.9 %, but in the second group it increases to 62.3 %. This result corroborates that obtained by the Ministry of National Education survey (1974) in which these percentages were found to be 33.5 % and 59.? % respectively (cf the following pages). However, the correlation between success at school and the age of children on arrival becomes particularly clear on consideration of the group of children who were already of school age when they arrived in Belgium included in the Marques Balsa study: the proportion of those behind then attains a total of 88.9 %. Furthermore, it also emerges that the child's age on arrival in Belgium has an effect on his level of education whatever his nationality, even if there are variations in extent. Overall, these results are consistent with those obtained by Vanderperre (1981) for the Flemish region (however, with variations in the percentages) and the less recent results obtained by De Coster-Derume (1962) in the central and Borinage regions.

The last survey conducted by the Ministry of National Education (1977) is particularly reliable (since it was

based on the whole population of schoolchildren) and revealing, as it provides a recent comparison between the levels of education of Belgian and immigrant children (born both in Belgium and elsewhere) for the whole of the primary level.

Table 25 Belgians and foreigners - stage reached by pupils in primary education - in % - academic year 1976 - 1977 (French linguistic system)

YEAR OF SCHOOLING		BELGIANS	FOREIGNERS		
			BORN IN BELGIUM	BORN OUTSIDE BELGIUM	TOTAL
1st primary class	Advanced	2.70	2.00	1.70	1.90
	Normal	83.70	76.10	57.40	72.10
	Behind	13.60	21.90	40.90	26.00
2nd primary class	A.	3.30	2.50	2.50	2.50
	N.	76.80	65.20	42.90	60.50
	B.	19.90	32.30	54.50	37.00
3rd primary class	A.	3.10	2.30	2.10	2.20
	N.	71.70	56.60	37.50	52.20
	B.	25.20	41.10	60.40	45.60
4th primary class	A.	3.10	2.40	1.40	2.10
	N.	67.90	54.20	29.00	47.60
	B.	29.00	43.40	62.60	50.30
5th primary class	A.	3.00	2.40	1.50	2.10
	N.	64.00	52.80	25.10	44.90
	B.	33.00	44.80	73.40	53.00
6th primary class	A.	3.10	3.20	1.80	2.90
	N.	65.10	53.40	26.80	45.10
	B.	31.80	43.40	71.40	52.00

Source: Etudes et Documents de la Direction Générale des Etudes, No. 5, 1977.

Similar differences between native Belgians and immigrant children are shown by the statistics on the level of education reached by children in primary school in the Flemish language schools. The figures published by the Ministry of National Education and Dutch Culture were as follows:

Table 26. Belgians and foreigners - stage reached by pupils in primary education - in % - academic year 1978 - 1979 (Dutch linguistic system)

Total primary level	Belgians	Foreigners
Advanced	1.24	0.89
Normal	86.54	59.98
1 year behind	10.94	27.58
2 years behind	1.10	8.51
More than 2 years behind	0.18	3.04

b) The socio-cultural standards of the parents: these are shown to be on the whole very low, but despite this (the nuances occur fluctuate within a fairly narrow range) the levels of education of the children are linked on the one hand to the educational levels of their parents (with a significant relationship to that of the mother) and on the other to the parents' ability to speak the language (French). These two factors, which have a strong influence on the capacity of the parents to participate in the education of their children, are not however the only sources of support an immigrant child can obtain from its family. Marques Balsa also emphasizes the role which can be played by a child's older siblings and the frequency and quality of contact between the parents and the school. The overall conclusion to be drawn on the basis of all these factors is that, as was to be expected, the great majority of children come from family backgrounds where the capacity for giving children the support they need for their education is very limited.

These results confirm either in toto or in part those of previous studies conducted by De Coster-Derume (1962), the survey carried out by the Province of Liège (1970), and those

carried out by the Ministry of National Education (1974), de Sand (1975) and de Magherman (1979).

c. The different nationalities: the analysis of the stages reached by schoolchildren according to their nationality in the survey conducted by Marques Balsa clearly reveals a certain ranking with regard to the level of education. The percentages of pupils behind in school in the different national groups included was as follows: Spaniards 36.1 %, Moroccans 43.5 %, Italians 45.6 % and Turks 61.0 %. However, it should not be forgotten that the variable of nationality does not in itself constitute a serious criterion for explanation if the other factors with which it is associated are excluded. It merely represents the synthesis of a certain number of other variables. What this study also reveals, is that the Turks are not only more often behind at school, but also further behind, in terms of years, than the other nationalities. In their case, conditions of settlement, the fact that they arrived relatively recently and the language difficulties combine to make their problems particularly acute.

The situation of the Italian children may be surprizing. It is evident that any advantages they may have (cultural) and linguistic similarities, fewer problems in general with institutions and regulations, etc. do not benefit them very much in the long run. It is not true to suppose that all Italian children in general no longer have any problems in Belgium!

d. The level of proficiency of pupils in the language of the host country: a relatively large number of immigrant children starting primary school have not sufficiently mastered the

French language to be able to be taught under normal conditions. According to the Balsa survey 50.1 % of immigrant children are proficient in French, 32.5 % are moderately proficient and 17.4 % have a low level of proficiency when they start primary school. These language difficulties of the immigrant children are mentioned in nearly all previous studies: De Coster-Derume (1962), Banton (1968), Province of Liége (1970) and the Commission Française de la Culture (1974), Sand (1975). The incidence of lack of proficiency in Dutch among young immigrants has also been investigated in studies on the Flemish region (la Provinciale Onthaaldienst van Gastarbeiders Limburg, Van den Camp (1979) and Magherman (1979).

3.1.5. The failure of the schools to adapt

In addition to these individual characteristics of children from immigrant families the studies conducted in Belgium draw attention to various other factors which may be involved and constitute an explanation for their precarious educational situation. De Coster and Derume (1962) observed that "the Belgian school system has proved helpless in the face of the influx of foreign pupils. In the schools with only a very low percentage of foreigners it has not been possible to group foreign pupils together nor to effect a fundamental change in the curricula. The same can be said of the schools in which the foreigners are in the majority. The school system, by nature conservative, has not adjusted to the new situation.... The foreigners also suffer from a lack of qualified teaching staff." Banton (1968) concludes at the end of his study that "the Government has made no move at all to calm the emotions which run high among teachers responsible for combating difficulties associated with having such mixed classes to teach." Banton believes that the causes of these deficiencies

are to be sought in the "lack of coordination between policy on immigration and policy on education". The failure of the institutions to adjust is also mentioned in the survey conducted by the Province of Liège (1979), which emphasizes that "in the vast majority of cases there are no reception programmes" and that "the teachers are not adequately prepared, either as regards information or techniques". For Magherman (1979) the conclusions to be drawn from his survey (on lower secondary level education in the Flemish provinces) are clear: the Belgian school system remains orientated towards the needs of the middle classes and the working class children in general and working class immigrant children in particular only rarely receive any compensation. A good indication of the gulf which separates "policy on immigration" from "policy on education" is supplied by the stage reached in the realization of concrete measures implementing the few legal provisions existing on the education of immigrant children.

While M. Taverne (1981) makes mention of all the measures which could theoretically be carried out on the basis of the present legislation he also remarks on the relative rarety of ongoing "experiments". It is not possible to make an evaluation of measures being carried out at present owing to the extreme confusion prevailing in this field. As far as language classes, adaptation classes and special or bicultural classes are concerned the measures taken to date have not been of a binding nature and the intiative comes from various sources (schools, action committees, private organizations, etc.). Thus in a study conducted by the Centrum Buitenlandse Werknemers (1980) it is reported that only 28 of the 60 schools in Antwerp which could have engaged a language teacher for the immigrant children have actually done so. According to the report by the Provinciale Onthaaldienst van Gastarbeider Limburg (not dated) the pilot projects run with the help of the

E.C. since 1976 and in three schools in Genk have not been extended to the other schools despite the fact that results have been positive. Magherman (1979) and A. Van den Camp (1979) are of the opinion that the results of these projects have not been evaluated accurately enough and that overall a scientific approach is lacking. The survey of the Commission Francaise de la Culture (1974) emphasized the fact that only 13 % of primary schools in Brussels at that time ran classes in "adaptation" to the French language (as an extra-curricular activity).

To sum up, the Belgian educational systems have still not adjusted to the situation: the policies of successive Governments have achieved no more than the announcement of measures which have been seldom and poorly implemented. There is a conspicuous lack of co-ordination between the few projects which do exist and it must be concluded that no real, clear objectives have as yet been defined.

3.1.6. The attitudes of the young immigrants towards work

Few studies carried out in Belgium have been concerned with the attitudes of young people in general with regard to work. As one might expect, there are even fewer on those of young immigrants. The only investigation known to us is that of P. Steels (1980). This was a psycholgical study which included the administration of psychotechnical tests to young Turks, Moroccans and Belgians from comparable socio-economic categories. Clear differences were found between the ways in which these young people experience reality.

According to Steels, the young Moroccans regularly have the feeling of being alone and left to their own

devices. They know that they are dependent on an environment (composed of people and things) over which they can, however, have no hold. Living in a society in which education is presented as the key to subsequent success, they exist in an atmosphere of emotional conflict which leads them towards a fringe situation against which they do not rebel. As a result of the restrictions to which they are subject most of them lack the ability to work towards goals. From this point of view the Moroccan girls appear to be even more restricted and dependent than the boys.

Steels reports that the young Turks are initially less affected by the fringe situation than the young Moroccans. They also experience emotional conflict and restriction, but, unlike the young Moroccans they reveal very high aspirations as regards the future. However, they have no sense of concrete reality to correct these aspirations. Thus their motivations and desires are utopian and there is a danger that they will finally become even more of a fringe group than their Moroccan counterparts. According to Steels the possibility cannot be ruled out that when these young people realize the full extent of the gulf that exists between their expectations and their real material chances several of them will turn to social deviance.

3.1.7. The activities of the "psycho-medico-social" (PMS) centres

One final element which should be mentioned in connection with the transition from school to vocational training is the work of the "psycho-medico-social" centres, which were set up in Belgium in 1956. More than 95 % of parents are willing to have their children sit the examinations of

these "PMS", which provide both psycholigical counselling and help im making decisions on which school and vocational courses to follow. They are most effective in aiding pupils at the time of transition from primary to secondary education and again in making the right choice of vocational training. The conclusions drawn by a conference of experts convened in 1976 by the Commission of the European Communities showed that the educational guidance staff of these centres admit that many of their tests are not suitable for young immigrants. The young foreigners are handicapped not only with respect to language but also with regard to the cultural and technical content of the exercises set. However, this is also the means by which, paradoxically, the educational guidance staff generally discover that the foreign families follow their advice better than the Belgian families.

This readiness of immigrant parents to accept the advice of the guidance officers is not surprizing in view of their lack of information on and knowledge of the various branches and types of education available. G. Hermant (1978) remarks in her study on educational and vocational guidance with respect to young Moroccans that in their case we are concerned with individuals who have themselves never experienced Belgian schools and whose conceptions are far removed from the concrete reality of this school world. Thus Hermant observes that while immigrant parents are definitely concerned about their children's education and future career, many of them still do not establish clear connections in their minds between education and learning an occupation. Education is thus regarded as something abstract which is effective by virtue of its very existence. Other parents do see a connection between education and occupations, but do not appreciate the links between the occupation learned and the opportunities offered by the

labour market. Any occupation is good because it permits one to escape from the ranks of those who "have no profession"!

However, this submissiveness of the immigrant parents to the PMS guidance officers which becomes frankely worrying when one takes into account the opinion of several informed observers (L. du Laing 1976 - F. Tilman 1975 - P. Stasse 1977) that there is a definite danger associated with the confusion concerning the different roles of school psychologist and careers guidance officer which reigns in these centres. Pupils are advised on the basis of tests of verbal and logical intelligence, knowledge, interests and aptitude to choose a certain branch of education. Analysis of the facts reveals that the advice of the psychologists in this respect appears to be so strongly related to the children's social standing (general education is regularly recommended for children from the higher social classes and technical and vocational education for those from the lower social classes) that one is almost forced to conclude that abstract and concrete types of intelligence are biologically hereditary. Moreover, it does not seem certain that the guidance given by these centres really takes into account the real opportunities on the labour market. A classical example is the fact that numerous young girls have taken courses in "cutting out and sewing" in a country in which job opportunities in the textile and garment sector are severely limited.

3.2 Vocational training

In Belgium, apart from the primary schools, it is the school system itself which provides a large proportion of the vocational training for children and adolescents. Although an ongoing reform of the educational system (transition from the "traditional" to the "reformed" system) is increasingly

camouflaging the true vocational nature of several institutions or branches of education behind a screen of general objectives (basically in order to achieve virtual equivalence of the certificates which all pupils obtain on completing secondary education), it can be estimated that in 1982 about 45 000 young foreigners between 14 and 24 years resident in Belgium, i.e. 28 % of the total, were receiving vocational training proper within the framework of school education.

All the statistical studies on the choices of post-primary education made by the young immigrants in Belgium underline the fact that there are considerably more of them in this branch of training than there are Belgians (Bastenier- Dassetto 1980, Ministry of National Education 1977, Statistisch Jaarboek van het Ministerie van Nederlandstalige Opvoeding, 1979 - 80, CASI 1976, Paulissen 1972, Debbaut 1976, De Pauw 1979, P. Naessens 1980). The conclusion generally drawn from this is that the young foreigners are steered towards entering the labour market as soon as possible from an earlier age than the Belgians. Debbaut even deduces from his analysis of the statistics for the Flemish provinces that the young immigrants are above all attracted by the technical courses providing vocational training proper. Thus the second generation immigrants will be poorly qualified manual workers, which, in Debbaut's view, is a good thing,since according to him there is a risk that in the medium term Belgium will have a surplus of qualified workers! Although it starts from a completely different basis this point of view paradoxically meets that of Ch. Piret (1981) and F. Tilman (1975), who conclude that vocational qualifications do not in any way constitute a guaranteed protection against the risks of unemployment for young people, at least, not in times of economic crisis. As a result of the small number of

jobs available the employers have a large choice of workers, and these are generally employed in jobs whose requirements are below the standard of their qualifications!

Paradoxically enough for a country like Belgium, which prides itself in having one of the most sophisticated systems of technical and vocational training in the world, research on the functioning, efficacity and results of this education is still very rarely carried out. As far as we are aware, apart from the work done in this field by the Fondation Travail-Université, only the CEPEC (Comité pour l'Etude des Problèmes de l'Emploi et du Chômage - Committee on Employment and Unemployment Problems) and the CSER (Centre de Sociologie et d'Economie Régionales - Centre for Sociology and Regional Economics), which are affiliated to the Université Libre in Brussels, are doing any work on these problems.

Research on questions associated with the presence of young immigrants in this branch of training is practically non-existant, apart from a survey conducted by the "Vie Féminine" (Feminine Life) movement, which is discussed below.

3.2.1 Vocational schools and the labour market

However, it is first of all appropriate to give a broad outline of the relationship between technical and vocational training and the functioning of the labour market.

Technical and vocational education has the task of imparting general basic training, particularly the knowledge of the theory and the know-how required for an occupation, in order to enable each young person to find

a job which corresponds both to the needs of the economy and his own wishes. However, as observed by F. Tilman (1975), the increase in the number of diplomas in technical and vocational education appears to have led to a depreciation of the value of these diplomas. As time goes on they no longer guarantee employment in qualified jobs at the same level of pay as previously. Between 1957 and 1967 the number of holders of diplomas in lower-level technical education and vocational education has increased by half and the number of persons with diplomas in technical education has doubled. During the same period the proportion of skilled workers has remained (ouvriers qualifiés - see page 40) unchanged, and that of manual labourers has decreased, while that of "specialized" workers (ouvriers spécialisés - see footnote p.40) has risen. This means that most of the holders of these diplomas are employed as "specialized" workers and not as skilled workers. A further indication of the devaluation of these diplomas is given by the relationship between unemployment and the level of training. What is the relative value of a diploma according to whether one is under 25 or over 25? In fact, the value of a diploma in technical or vocational education is to a great extent unrelated to its face value and is determined by a different mechanism, namely that of the labour market. Thus an already out-dated survey conducted by the J.O.C. (1965) revealed that one young male worker in three and one young woman worker in two do not practise the occupation for which they have been trained at school. Reduced to competing with each other because there are too many of them, young people are forced to accept unskilled jobs, which results in so-called "dequalification".

Technical and vocational schools do nothing to alter this state of affairs. In fact, while they turn out a large number of individuals with diplomas in occupations in all branches of industry, they give priority to certain branches, such as the garment industry in the case of girls or mechanics in the case of boys. There are more holders of such diplomas than the industries require. Not all diplomas have the same value on the labour market, but the schools do not really take this into account and the parents are still badly informed as to the true value in terms of employment of the vocational or technical diploma which they intend their children to obtain. This applies particularly to the parents and young immigrants who remain to a great extent ignorant of the functioning of the training system in Belgium.

Doubtlessly the fault is not to be sought in the inadequacies of the vocational training system alone. The gap between the number of vacant jobs and the number of job-seekers must also be taken into account. Between 1974 and 1984 the number of young unemployed persons under 25 years of age receiving benefit increased from 18 654 to 151 433. However, what shows how little positive influence any vocational qualification may have on the chances of a young person's getting a job is that, as determined by Ch. Piret (1981), 39.2 % of the unemployed under 25 years have not gone beyond primary education, while this applies to 71.7 % of the unemployed over 25; in contrast, 30 % of unemployed persons under 25 have concluded secondary education, whereas only 14.9% of the unemployed over 25 have reached this stage. Thus it is the idea of qualification itself which is relativized.

It is in this context that the law of 29.6.1983 extending compulsory schooling up to age of 18 years must be seen, which is to be implemented by the following means: full-time education, part-time education ("reduced time-table") and alternative education and recognized training courses.

According to the preamble to this law it was occasioned by the high rate of unemployment among young people connected with their lack of vocational qualifications. However, it is relevant to ask whether its true objective was not to camouflage these unemployment rates by subtracting this fraction of the population from the total working population. If this is true, as many are inclined to fear, this measure will not constitute a real solution to the problem of unemployment among young people or to the fact that they are not highly enough qualified. It has in fact been realized that the sources of the problem of the lack of qualifications of a large proportion of young people are actually to be found in primary education, where the failure rates remain very high, and in the inadequacies of the methods and contents of vocational training as it exists today. In this context one positive measure would no doubt have been to have improved the staff: pupil ratios and teaching methods in primary education in order to better prepare a maximum of young people to meet the requirements of subsequent genuine vocational training. Instead, compulsory schooling has been extended and pupils who have often already lost their motivation are forced to attend school even longer. It is to be feared that multifarious problems will thus arise in connection with the implementation of the new law by one or other of the means provided for.

By what means can in fact, in the case of full-time education, a taste for school be revived and pupils be remotivated when most of them want to leave as soon as possible? This question is of course connected with the ongoing reform of vocational training. However, the present restrictive measures of the Government run contrary to such a reform and there is a condsiderable risk that a large number of unmotivated pupils will attend schools which are poorly adapted to meet their specific

needs. This could result in a further fall in the standards of vocational training!

As regards part-time and alternance education and alternance training, it is not known if and to what extent the existing educational systems are prepared to invest in such measures or whether they would reather leave the creation of new branches of education to others. Are the "social advancement" courses more likely to bear the brunt of the "fall out" resulting from the law on the extension of compulsory education? Or will a new special system be created which will differ by the fact that it offers special teaching methods? As yet it remains to a great extent uncertain what developments will arise from the law.

Finally, as far as the recognized training courses are concerned, articles of indenture for industrial apprenticeships ("contrat d'apprentissage industriel") are to be introduced in addition to the already existing recognized courses run by the Ministry for Small and Medium Enterprises and the National Employment Agency (ONEM). However, it is not known who will benefit from it, how many young people will be catered for and, above all, when the different sectors will be ready. It still remains largely unclear what guarantees this branch of education will provide.

Such is the uncertainty still surrounding the implementation of the law of 29.6.83 that at a conference held at the Institute for Labour Sciences (Institut des Sciences du Travail) of the University of Louvain in May 1984 the question was raised as to whether the explicit aims of the law have not been pushed into the background by the attempt to exercise the greatest control possible over young people leaving school who have little chance of becoming inte-

grated in the economic system. This would make the goal less one of providing each individual with vocational training of which he can make use immediately than one of preventing young people from abandoning training courses before the age of 18 years. Moreover, the extension of compulsory schooling would then be part of a more far-reaching move to re-define the economic and social roles of the family by forcing it to carry the financial burden of the additional years of schooling. This would be nothing less than a confirmation of the tendency of social policies to foist upon the family unit a series of costs which until recently had been borne by the community as a whole(J.E. Charlier, 1984).

3.2.2 Young immigrants and vocational training

The quantitave statistics for young immigrants receiving technical and vocational training have been given under 2.2.2. Let us now attempt to define the situation from a qualitative point of view. In doing this we shall base ourselves on a survey entitled "Vie Feminine" (1979) (Feminine Life) - as far as we know the only one of its kind.

This survey, in which a sample of 612 immigrant women with at least one son or daughter attending vocational school took part, gives information on 503 girls and 102 boys distributed over the entire Flemish-speaking region of Belgium. It does not claim to be statistically representative but does include enough anwers to be able to draw up reliable hypotheses. The object of the survey was to determine the following:

a) who attends vocational schools ? (nationalities, parents' occupations ...)
b) what is it that determines whether a pupil attends vocational school (choice, repeated failures, lack of certificate of primary education) ?

c) what are the young immigrants taught at vocational school (content of the training) ?

d) what kind of relations exist between vocational schools and the immigrant families ?

a. - Who attends vocational schools ?

Break-down by nationality :		Father's occupations	
Italy	32 %	Manual labourers	35 %
Morocco	21 %	"Specialized workers"*	24.5 %
Turkey	13 %	Invalids/pensioners	18 %
Spain	12 %	Miners	4 %
Greece	3 %	Other occupations	18.5 %
Other foreigners	19 %		

b. - What determines whether an immigrant pupil attends vocational school ?

How did the pupil come to be at a vocational school ?

He wanted to go	57 %
He wanted to learn a craft occupation	57 %
He wanted to learn an occupation fast	44 %
We wanted him to go (the parents)	40 %
The school was nearby	39 %
His teachers advised us to send him there	32.5 %
Friends and neighbours had told us about it	22 %
The Psycho-Medical-Social Centre advised it	17 %
He did not have any choice	31 %

Did anyone give you any information to enable you to choose

Yes, all the information necessary	39 %	
I had little information	32 %	} 56 %
I had no information	56 %	}

*see page

Had your child obtained a certificate of primary education ?

No (overall) :	33.5 %, of whom	41 %	Moroccan
		17 %	Spanish
		34 %	Italian
		34.5 %	Turkish

c. - The objectives of vocational schools

77 % said they liked going to school
62 % had the impression that they were learning a real occupation
27 % of the children took classes including material of their country of origin
3 % of the children took classes in the language of their country of origin at school
38 % of the schools organize visits to industrial undertakings
26 % organize practical training periods in industry
29 % of the pupils had received information on work permits
21 % of the pupils had received information on immigrants' voting rights.

d. - The immigrant parents and the schools

25 % of the total number of immigrant parents do not understand information in written form (however, this figure increases to 56 % in the case of the Turks).

55 % of the schools have no parents' association and, when there is one, only 9 % of the immigrant parents participate, for various reasons (lack of information, time, or interest, language problems, etc.....).

58 % of the parents have had the opportunity to talk to the teachers, but this only helped 38 % of them.

Some major conclusions can be drawn and various reflections made on the basis of the "Vie Feminine" survey :
- The young immigrants appear to start vocational school

because they want to learn and rapidly be in a position to practise a manual occupation. It is probably failures and boredom in primary school that prompt these young people to choose a branch of education which is short and which, moreover, a large number of them will not finish and will leave without obtaining a certificate (between 40 and 60 %).

- The young immigrants leaving vocational schools have a hard time making a start on their careers and they themselves realize that there can be no smooth transition between the educational system and the working life.

- The difficulties of young immigrants in vocational school are not fundamentally different from those with which they were already confronted at primary school. These schools pay little attention to the young immigrants' identity problems and are only interested in imparting the culture of a technicized world in which what counts is being a plumber, seamstress or typist, and no more.

- There is a very wide gap dividing the immigrant families and the vocational schools.

3.2.3. Alternative experiments in vocational training

The existing deficiencies in school and vocational training are well known to those who have anything to do with the future of the immigrant society in Belgium. It is as a result of the realization of the situation that private groups have been organized with a view to offering specific training programmes for the "second generation" of immigrants, either directly or indirectly. These include those set up by the "Fondaton pour une Univerité Ouverte à Charleroi" (Foundation for an open university in Charleroi) - FUNOC, the "Canal Emploi" in Liège, the APAJI, the "Ateliers Marolliens" and the "Etangs Noirs" school in Brussels. This last project, which is directed specifically at young immigrants aged between 14 and 19 years not having found a

place within the traditional education system is discussed below, while the first two will be analyzed under § 3.3.6.

The pilot project of the school of the "Etangs Noirs", was set up at the instigation of the Service Social des Etrangers d'Ixelles (Social Service for Foreigners of Ixelles) and with the support of the European Social Fund in an attempt to provide some of the necessary "reception units" (structures d'acceuil) suitable for young immigrants. Thus between 1975 and 1980 some 45 young immigrants (19 of whom were Moroccan and 12 Turkish) who had not found places in the traditional school system were given preparatory vocational training enabling them either to become reintegrated in the normal system of training or to find a job.

Since 1978, by developing a method of "self-managment" and in spite of the persistence of certain unresolved teaching problems, the school has shown its viability and its efficiency by the answer which it has provided to the problems of young immigrants isolated from the Belgian society. However, owing to its size and the restrictions placed on it by the labour market, the school has only model value (F. Giele, 1981).

3.2.4. Training by "articles of indenture" for apprentices

Apart from opting for one of the types of school education, on completion of primary school or after breaking off their school education after 1 or 2 years of secondary education, children of not less than 14 years may acquire their vocational training by means of so-called contracts (articles of indenture) for apprentices ("contrats d'apprentissage"), which come under the aegis of the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises. These contracts, which as a rule have a term of 4 years (but which may be shorter) consist of training given by the head of a small enterprise or a craftsman, and basically provide preparation for an independent occupation.

Each year a certain number of young people, both Belgian and immigrants, conclude "contrats d'apprentissage" with terms of between 1 and 4 years. In 1982 the cumulated total of persons in Belgium undergoing training under one of these contracts was 20 091, 11 068 of whom were in the French linguistic community and 9 023 in the Dutch linguistic community.

Table 27 shows the figures for young Belgians and young people of foreign origin respectively commencing an apprenticeship under an officially approved contract during the course of 1982.

Table 27. Number of officially approved articles of indenture ("contrats d'apprentissage") concluded in 1982 shown in relation to the nationalities of the apprentices

	French linguistic community	Dutch linguistic community
Belgians	5 508 (81.7 %)	7 307 (96.6 %)
Foreigners	1 232 (18.3 %)	256 (3.4 %)
of whom Italians	681	50
Spaniards	78	25
Maghrebis	59	34
Turks	20	16
Others	394	131
	6 740	7 563

Sources: Institut Francophone de Formation Permanente des Classes Moyennes, Annual Report 1982; Nederlandstalig Instituut voor Voordurende Vorming van de Middenstand, Activiteitverslag 1982.

This table reveals that it is essentially in the French-speaking region that the "contrats d'apprentissage" acquire a certain importance within the group of young people of immigrant origin.

It would also appear to show that a relatively high number of young immigrant apprentices come from countries in which a romance language is spoken, which indicates that the language difficulties constitute a serious hindrance to relations between heads of firms, teachers and fellow apprentices.

L. Stella (1981) investigated vocational training provided by means of a "contrat d'apprentissage" in the French linguistic community. The study shows that roughly 70 % of the total number of such "contrats" are issued to boys and 30 % to girls. The occupations most highly represented are food catering, mechanics and metal-working, electricians, building, "personal care services" (hairdressers, beauticians, chiropodists, etc.) and retailing.

Assessments of quality of the vocatonal training obtained under these contracts have been widely varied, if not contradictory. Some observers consider the results to be qualitatively far superior to those obtainable through vocational education in schools, when the conditions are good. Others hold most of the "contracts" to represent a mediocre form of training which is in need of reform. L. Stella (1981) found the following remarks applicable:

- the quality of the training of the apprentices is not guaranteed (lack of teaching ability of the employer, tendency to consider the apprentice as a source of cheap labour....)
- failure and drop-out rates are high,
- guidance of the apprentices by the "secretariats d'apprentissage" (apprenticeship secretariats) is not satisfactory and
- only the most highly motivated of the young immigrants

get as far as completing the training; one of the reasons for this situation is that, even if they are able to cope with the practical side of the training, in the theoretical examinations they are still confronted with the same cultural difficulties (poor ability to read and write) as those which were at the root of their previous failures in school.

Scrutiny of the annual reports published by the institutes for continuing education of the French- and Dutch-speaking middle classes (small and medium enterprises) for the past few years shows that the proportion of young immigrants within the total population receiving training remains constant : between 18 and 20 % in the French linguistic community and between 3 and 4 % in the Dutch linguistic community. Although there is no information published specifically on the apprentices of foreign origin (apart from the statistics) the reports do include certain overall conclusions which tend to endorse L. Stella's analysis: while these instiitutes are presently concerned with a series of measures for educational reform in the form of alternance training (revision of curricula and methods, the necessity for increased improved mentorship of the apprentices....), it is evident that over the past few years the available forces have mainly been mobilized in order to ensure the "survival" rather than the reform of the apprenticeshop secretariats. The apprenticeship secretaries have thus been confined within roles which have been far more administrative than concerned with the supervision of training, which would normally be their task. If criticism of certain aspects of the apprenticeship system is to be countered an official procedure for the assessment of the suitability of firms to take on apprentices must rapidly be instituted, certain gaps must be filled in in the information on the rules applying to this type of training given beforehand, to both the

heads of the firms and the future aprentices, and finally, it must be ensured that apprenticship secretariats are set up which are truly capable of helping the apprentices.

3.3. Employment and unemployment

Vocational training in Belgium other than that provided for young people within the school structure by the Ministry of National Education is offered either in the form of what are known as "social advancement courses" or in courses run by the National Employment Agency (ONEM), which organizes vocational training courses either for workers who in certain circumstances wish to take refresher courses or improve their skills, or for the unemployed.

They can also be provided in the form of in-firm training, meeting the requirements the firms have of their own staff. Since we do not have any information on the latter alternative, we shall discuss the first two in the next paragraph.

3.3.1. The "social advancement" courses

The group at which the "social advancement" courses are directed consists mostly of adults (over the age of18) for whom these classes constitute a "last chance" to obtain a training which they have not been able to obtain via the normal channels owing to the social, cultural or psychological circumstances.

The 1980 figures for persons in the French linguistic community taking the so-called "long training" ("formation longue") type of social advancement courses (3 or 4 years), which are evening classes at which the same objectives are pursued as those of traditional secondary technical and vocational education, are shown in Table 28. (Subsequent data were not broken down according to the nationalities of the students.)

Table 28. Numbers of Belgians and foreigners on "social advancement" courses, 1980, French system

	Foreigners			Total Belgians	Overall total
	Boys	Girls	Total		
Lower-level vocational and technical courses	7 646	5 606	13 252		
Higher-level vocational and technical courses	4 134	3 243	7 377	64 293	84 922
Complementary secondary-level vocational courses	24	74	98		
Special courses	172	8	180	189	369
Total	11 976 (14.0%)	8 931 (10.4%)	20 907 (24.4%)	64 482 (75.6%)	84 291 (100%)

It is also known that while social advancement courses are theoretically for adults an estimated 50 % of the students undergoing vocational training under this system are under 25 years of age. Thus in 1980 some 10 000 young foreigners were trying to obtain qualifications by this means. Taking into account the rise in the number of schoolchildren since then, the present figure should be about 11 500.

No research has been conducted on the efficacy of the social advancement courses in the case of the foreigners and conflicting opinions are regularly expressed on the subject. One general comment is that the percentage (60 % ?) of drop-outs among the foreign students is high (Marivoet-Du Laing 1976).

One expert from the Institut de Sciences du Travail (Institute for Labour Sciences) of the Catholic University of Louvain, considers that this type of education should not be undervalued since, while it is regarded as a "last

chance" for Belgians, for foreigners it may be the most desirable way of obtaining qualifications, or a "first chance". Owing to the circumstances in which they at present receive their primary education, they are as a rule not in a position to undergo real vocational training at the start of their adolescence. However, only a few years later the social advancement courses may seem to them to be a means of improving their situation.

3.3.2. Vocational training offered by the National Employment Office (ONEM)

Theoretically the National Employment Office (ONEM) does not make any distinction between the nationalities of students applying for training places in any of their vocational training schemes for the unemployed. The following table shows the comparative data for the past few years.

Table 29. Numbers of Belgians and foreigners on vocational training courses run by the ONEM from 1976 to 1984 (numbers of trainees completing courses)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1981	1983/84 (+)
Belgians:						
Men	5 258	5 509	6 851	7 507	10 742	11 332
Women	2 725	4 621	6 912	6 434	8 332	5 332
Foreigners:						
Men	1 097	975	1 292	1 646	1 376	1 474
Women	308	375	640	741	670	458
Total:						
Belgians	7 983	10 130	13 763	13 941	19 074	16 654
Foreigners	1 405	1 350	1 932	2 387	2 046	1 932
Proportion of foreigners	(15%)	(11.8%)	(12.3%)	(14.6%)	(9.7%)	(10.4%)

(+) between 1.7.83 and 30.6.84

Source: National Employment Office (ONEM). The figures are for "basic" and "complementary" training courses offered by the "Centres en gestion directe"

(centres under the immediate supervision of the ONEM) and those run by special centres for the "observation and guidance of young unemployed persons.

For the year 1983 - 84 we also have figures broken down according to nationality.

Table 30. Numbers of trainees completing ONEM vocational training courses during the year 1983 - 1984 by nationality

Nationalities	ONEM trainees		Corresponding total population	
	Number	%	Number (+)	%
Belgians	16.654	89.6 %	8 970 070	91.1 %
Total no. of foreigners of whom:	1 932	10.4 %	878.577	8.9 %
Italians	974	5.2 %	279 700	2.8 %
Spaniards	158	0.9 %	58 255	0.6 %
Maghrebis	172	0.9 %	122 800	1.2 %
Turks	89	0.5 %	63 587	0.6 %
Other foreigners	539	2.9 %	354 235	3.6 %
Overall total	18 586	100 %	9 848 647	100 %

(+) 1981 figures

Source: ONEM

These two tables show that even if the percentages of the nationalities on the ONEM training courses are different from those in the overall population of the country, the

trainees of immigrant origin are still over-represented overall. In fact the Italians and Spaniards benefit most from this over-representation, to the disadvantage of the others, namely the Maghrebis and Turks.

In fact, a certainpercentage of the ONEM vocational training course places are taken by young unemployed persons under 25 years of age. Thus in 1983-84, out of a total of 18 586 trainees completing their course, 6 780 were in theis age bracket, which is equal to 36.5 % of the total. Of these 6 780 places 804 were taken by young people of immigrant origin. These figures are broken down according to nationality in Table 31.

Table 31 Numbers of young people under 25 years of age completing ONEM vocational training courses in 1983 - 1984 according to nationality

Nationalities	ONEM trainees		Corresponding total population (15 to 25 years)	
	Number	%	Number (+)	%
Belgians	5 976	88.1 %	1 586 069	90.8 %
Total no. of young immigrants of whom:	804	11.9 %	159 885	9.2 %
Italians	454	6.7 %	53 574	3.1 %
Spaniards	89	1.3 %	12 711	0.7 %
Maghrebis	61	0.9 %	22 889	1.3 %
Turks	50	0.8 %	13 096	0.8 %
Other foreigners	150	2.2 %	57 615	3.3 %
Overall total	6 780	100 %	1 745 954	100 %

(+) 1981 figures

Source: ONEM

The quality of the training provided by the ONEM is generally considered to be good. However, certain remarks should be made regarding the type and accessibility of the courses taken by young people of immigrant origin.

To begin with, it is evident that the young immigrants are more orientated towards courses at the secondary level than their Belgian counterparts (85 % of immigrants and 65 % of Belgians in 1983 - 1984). This could be an indication that, in the ONEM courses as in the other vocational training systems, a large proportion of the "second generation" of immigrants is continuing to opt for types of labouring jobs similar to those of their first generation predecessors.

It can also be seen that while the young people belonging to the national groups which have been in Belgium the longest (the Italians and Spaniards) are over-represented on the ONEM courses this in not the case of the nationalities which have immigrated more recently (Moroccans and Turks), who, on the contrary are under-represented. This fact must be seen in relation to the quality of the training provided by the ONEM, which demands a relatively high level of previous qualification such as is rarely attained by the young Moroccan and Turkish candidates, whose school education is known to be generally mediocre and who do not have a very good command of the local language. However, this initial and severe handicap is only added to the debatable contents of the preliminary selection examinations which the ONEM sets applicants for training places. M. Lahlali and A. Norredine (1976) have described the "Western" character of the spatio-temporal ideas included in the tests set for these examinations. These authors conclude that the scores obtained in the tests do not in fact measure the same thing in applicants from varying

cultures and that it is difficult to predict a candidate's aptitude for the subsequent vocational training course on this basis.

It is also interesting to consider exactly what role is played by the "Centres d'Observation et d'Orientation (observation and guidance centres), which cater for young unemployed persons under 25 years of age and which have the function of a route of access to a possible subsequent training course. While attending these centres the young people are acquainted with the various different training opportunities open to them and at the same time their general level of education is evaluated with regard to their obtaining a place to train. In the opinion of G. Luise (1979) on a purely quantitative level it cannot be said that the immigrants are discriminated against by this selective means of admitting applicants to ONEM vocational training courses. However, on a qualitative level it is necessary to be considerably more critical. At this level, as far as G. Luise is concerned, it is really possible to speak of unequal selection of the candidates which, as a result of cultural factors, works to the detriment of the young immigrants. At the same time it is in fact the young immigrants who have a greater demand for vocational training than the young Belgians, but do not find a place in the training system as it functions.

Consequently, as observed by O. Magnusson in the 1980 CEDEFOP report on youth unemployment and vocational training, one may wonder whether, in view of the extremely high number of drop-outs (2 164 students out of 6 368 candidates completed their training in 1976), the value of this type of progamme is not questionable in the sense that it proves to be maladapted to the needs of those who

are initially, like the immigrants, less well qualified, can only obtain vocational training with great difficulty and are thus once again banished to the fringe. Everything is organized as if the ONEM were adding to the conditions for acceptance to its courses in a bid to maximize the returns on its vocational training centres. This "elitist" tendency of the organization of the ONEM vocational training may well become even more accentuated during the next few years if the conclusions of the "McKinsey Report" (1984) are followed, which advised limiting the number of places for long basic training courses after which the immediate placement rate is lower, with a view to improving the efficiency of the Office as regards reintegration of the unemployed. This would probably lead to the setting up of a dual training system by the Office : on the one hand the high level and profitable courses staffed by highly competent trainers and on the other, the low level, basic training courses with less competent trainers and with a less reliable or provisional framework. However, it is precisely the long courses which the young unemployed of immigrant origin, whose initial qualifications are poor, need most. The obvious result of such a measure would be the increasingly systematic exclusion of young people of the nationalities which, like the Turks and Moroccans, have very high percentages of job-seekers.

Furthermore, this was already clearly revealed by a study carried out by Y. Zumbültas (1979), who spoke of real difficulties among the Turkish immigrants in Belgium : 181 Turkish applicants obtained places for training by the ONEM between 1972 and 1977 (0.3 %) out of a total number of 53 059 of trainees accepted during this period. Their school-leaving qualifications being among the most mediocre, the Turkish workers find practically no subsequent training system which is in a position to assume

responsibility for them. Should the role of the ONEM training system in this case not be one of a corrective of the deficiences of the inadequate school system ? asks Zumbültas.

In this context the same author was also surprized to find that Instruction No. 5 of the instructions governing the general entrance requirement for the vocational training courses run by the ONEM stipulates the following: ".. Only migrant workers in possession of a valid work permit are eligible for a place at one of the centres. Furthermore it should be ascertained whether they wish to settle permanently in Belgium, thus adding to the economic potential of the country."

The idea here is that, apart from the general entrance requirements applicable to all workers and independent of the entrance tests, which assess ability, the migrant workers also have to fulfil a condition whose limits are not easy to define. How many immigrants, caught up in the migratory flow, which they have always been led to believe was "temporary", do not regularly feel a desire to return to their contry of origin, even if this possibility is nearly always denied ? How can one ascertain whether an immigrant worker wishes to settle permanently in Belgium or not? Does not such a provision constitute a criterion and an ill-definable instrument of selection ? It will also be remarked that this provision is a conflagration of virtually all the bilateral agreements made between Belgium and the main countries from which it imports labour. As noted by M.R. Fauconier (1972), the majority of these conventions (but not that drawn up with Turkey !) stipulate the necessity of conducting research on the means of establishing and developing vocational training programmes for immigrants.

However, to conclude this brief description of certain aspects of the vocational training provided by the ONEM, we

feel that it is useful to reflect upon the concrete means of intervention open to this organization in its present form and in the present economic situation. The original purpose of the vocational training programmes of the ONEM seems, to quote P. De Vuyet (1977) to have essentially been to provide for an adjustment between the supply of and demand for labour on a relatively stable labour market, in a context in which it was assumed that a certain type of economic growth would be permanent. Nevertheless, within this general plan, the ONEM has attained only some of the goals it set itself, as evidenced by the discrepancies which have regularly occurred from year to year between the number of training places planned and the number of trainees actually completing courses. Moreover, while in view of the overall increase in the number of training places provided by the ONEM in the course of the years (the annual totals for the number of trainees completing courses rose from roughly 9 400 in 1976 to 21 100 in 1981 and fell again to 18 600 in 1983-84 and the number of trainees under 25 years completing training increased from about 3 500 in 1976 to 7 500 in 1980 and decreased again to 6 800 in 1983-84), it may be considered that an effort has been made to adapt to the increasing demand which has arisen as a result of the deterioration of the general economic situation one cannot help but realize that the role played by the ONEM in its present form is limited, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in the face of the growing volume of needs and the qualification requirements, which are far today still from being a mere corrective instrument to be applied to short-term imbalances on the labour market. As regards the specific case of the training of young people under 25 years of age the survey by P. De Vuyst (1977) had well brought out the dominant socio-professional characteristics of the recipients of the ONEM training. According to the survey it appeared that for this target group the ONEM courses

should have been essentially a means of "catching up" or filling in the gaps left by the traditional school system, by enabling them to attain a certain level of qualification which the great majority of them lack. However, the strict policy practised by the ONEM in its selection of young candidates for vocational training - which makes it particularly hard for young immigrants to obtain a place - renders it impossible for the agency to play this role. Are we not thus forced to conclude that, with respect to the group of under - 25s this is but one more institution which is ill-equipped to and incapable of meeting their specific needs ?

Is the apparent effort on the part of the ONEM to cater for the young unemployed (although it appears to have dwindled during the last two years) the expression of a volontarist training policy or should it be considered to be merely a "politico-symbolical" operation bearing no relation at all to the needs of this fraction of the population, whose specific situation does not invite any sustained or significant interest on the part of the ONEM ?

3.3.3. Research on alternative training schemes

As a result of the failure of the traditional systems of training young immigrants, whether employed or unemployed, alternative schemes and projects are springing up in various corners of the country. Although they cannot meet the real needs from a quantitative point of view, their existence should be mentioned in view of their apparent positive character.

In this context one could mention multifarious schemes organized by local immigrant or belgo-immigrant organizations whose activities range from preliminary classes in reading and writing and courses preparatory to vocational training proper. We have also mentioned the APAJI, the "Etangs Noirs" school and the "Ateliers Marolliens" under § 3.2.3., all of which are mainly directed at young immigrants in the transitional phase between school and the labour market. As

regards schemes oriented towards employed and unemployed immigrants respectively, we should lke to give particular mention to the "Fondation pour une Université Ouverte à Charleroi" (FUNOC) and "Canal Emploi" projects in Liège, among others in the French-speaking region. These two projects are not specifically oriented towards the immigrant population, but it may be estimated that roughly 1/3 of the target group consists of immigrants (Alaluf, 1980).

The FUNOC does not aim to compensate for the gaps in school education from which the unemployed workers suffer, but rather towards providing information and training associated with their every-day problems so that they may be better able to deal with them. Naturally the main problems are obtaining and keeping jobs, but at the same time there are cultural, social and political difficulties. C. Verniers (1981) gives a good analysis of the reasons why a completely new training system is needed: since the policy on training only takes into consideration those unemployed who are immediately "recuperable" by the industry the less able unemployed are exposed to a process of diminishing social adaptation and are forced to accept rebuff or be obliged to accept any job whatever, on whatever conditions. The FUNOC is thus trying to take into account the training requirements of the workers with poor school qualifications in a system of general preparation for training aligned to their problems. This is realized by means of a varied programme of courses:

- motivational courses serving as "bridges" to more structured training courses (roughly 250 trainees in 1981);
- remedial courses in French, mathematics and social life followed by vocational training (approximately 180 trainees in 1981);

- courses taking the form of projects for groups of tenants, for vocational retraining or for restoration and insulation of homes (220 workers in 1980).

The "Canal Emploi" in Liège attempts to reach mainly a well-defined social category, namely that which is excluded from cultural and educational institutions and is the worst affected by unemployment : women, young people and immigrants. The immediate training concentrates on the problems and requirements of the trainees, but the aim is to bring these severely handicapped workers up to a level at which they can gain access to the labour market and its organizations, which, like the ONEM, are then open to them. Since September 1978 the "Canal Emploi" has resorted to the method of broadcasting its courses by cable television 2 hours a week. Since 1979 it has organized practical training courses (8 weeks, 25 hours per week).

In a later phase the "Canal Emploi" will be conducting research into the development of integrated education, employing video and distance-learning programmes, and also making use of developments in audio-visual and other educational techniques (H. Cambier, 1981).

4. CONCLUSIONS

As in other host countries the problem of the vocational training of immigrants in Belgium has been outstanding from the moment the country decided to make systematic use of foreign labour. For several years, despite recommendations and regulations issued at Community level and the simple realization of the fact that there could be no cultural or civic integration of the migrants if they remained on the fringe as regards jobs (F. Clavora, 1974), there has been a general laissez-faire attitude and a tendency to behave as though "natural" adjustments of the market were all that was necessary (M. Alaluf, 1980). This contradicts the theory of the "migratory chain", which has so often been referred to by the importing countries, in which transfers of labour were presented as part of a kind of new dynamics of development through which the exporting countries would obtain benefit in the form of the qualifications which their citizens would acquire during their temporary expatriation. Today it is known that, both in Belgium and in many of the other countries affected, there has never been any form of vocational training of migrant workers preparing them for re-integration in their home countries (J. Clette, 1976).

The question of vocational training for immigrants has today moved to the top of the list of priorities as one of the major components of the problem posed by the "second generation", which throws a completely new light on a situation which it had been considered possible to leave in abeyance. It is in fact known that the immigrant population in Belgium may be considered to have become relatively stabilized and that young people under 25 years of age account for 450 000 immigrants, i.e. 50 %. As we have seen, integration into primary school remains more than problematic for the immigrants. The lack of equal opportunities in the school system, which has so often been decried in connection with the situation of Belgian working-class children, has for the foreigners become a source of real oppression ("école massacre).

This initial deficit has serious repercussions when it comes to starting vocational training proper, either in one of the schools providing vocational education, where the young immigrants continue to encounter difficulties that are fundamentally no different from those they previously experienced in comulsory primary schooling, or in one of the non-school vocational training schemes (articles of indenture, social advancement courses or the ONEM programme) which cover only a minute proportion of the "second generation" and do not provide a comprehensive solution to the problem.

It is a known fact that without vocational qualifications these young people are more at risk of becoming unemployed than any other worker. A growing number of them receive only a fragmentary and negative view of society through the medium of the unemployment bureau or the police station. For these young people the only explanation for this situation is that they have been rejected by society, and this triggers an aggression which is more destructive than any prejudice against foreigners or racist behaviour on the part of the Belgians. If the boys do not have any alternative in the form of work their existence is dominated by the rationale of the neighbourhood and the streets, which becomes their one reality and only point of reference. This does not fail to provoke rejection on the part of society and apprehension among the Belgians. As far as the girls are concerned, there is an increasing retreat into the isolated and isolating milieu of the home (J. Leman, 1979).

The present situation of the "second generation" is in fact very different from that encountered by the "first generation" and, to a great extent, from that with which the latter is at present faced, and is also, in more than one respect, far more serious. The "first generation" had no difficulty in becoming integrated into the labour market and retained as a reference point - even if this was symbolic - the possibility of reintegration in their countries of origin if the emigration project should fail. In fact, the long process of socialization, which would normally result in the

condemnation of the young second generation immigrants to the working class, ends in a vacuum, an absence of the opportunity to achieve definitive social integration. The young foreigners in a certain sense form a kind of "irregular proletariat" ("prolétaires irréguliers"), which we have elsewhere suggested should be called "young non-permanent proletariat" (jeune prolétariat non-fixé) (Dassetto-Bastenier, 1981).

What fundamentally distinguishes the second generation immigrants from the rest of society is the problematic nature of their positive social integration at all levels:

- at the cultural level they remain "foreigners", burdened with a confusion over identity,
- at the social level they continue to pay the price of the banishment of the migrant population to the fringes of society
- and at the work level they tend to abandon the work ethos of their parents and in all respectes to suffer most from the negative effects of the economic crisis.

Taking into account this tendency towards overall social segregation, what can they do to obtain the minimum of social recognition without which they cannot continue to exist?

Since the response to the indeterminate nature of existence is frequently a behavioural arbitrariness it has become relatively common to hear talk of the "inevitable and progressive orientation of the young immigrants towards deviant and delinquent behaviour". It is possible that the only temporary alternative to fragmentation of the personality which offers itself to several of these young people is associated with the restrictiveness of the insignificance of either social deviance, irrationality or abnormality. However, in our opinion this is an over-dramatic view of matters which is too reminiscent of that of those who see the solution to the problems in the repression or expulsion of the "undesirable" foreign minorities. It is precisely the object of more and more studies now being conducted on the second generation of immigrants to throw more light on the multifarious strategies

that these young people are led to evolve in order to be able to deal with the condition which has been foisted upon them.

At present one solution proposed by some of the social and political bodies responsible is to provide proper vocational training as one means of improving young immigrants' opportunities to become socially integrated. The development of programmes to fill in the gaps in the structures of the existing training systems would provide comprehensive answers to a situation which, moreover, already gives cause for grave concern. Indeed, one can only hope that such remedial programmes will be set up without delay, in as far as, as shown by the study by G. Campoli (1977), who imputed the rare cases of scholastic and social success he found to be fortuitous factors, it is correct to suppose that the existing training systems are more an obstacle to be overcome than a help to the type of trainee in question.

Nevertheless, since they are an indispensible condition of improvement, even if they will not suffice, programmes of this kind can only be set up and become successful if there is a minimum of concensus regarding their purpose and contents. We do not have the impression that this at present applies to the ongoing reforms (e.g. the reform of alternance training included in the provisions for the raising of the school-leaving age to 18 years).

The basic proposals which, in our opinion, should be the object of a preliminary consideration if the issue is to progress beyond the level of a "pious wish" to that of beneficial practice,were inspired by those put forward by M. Alaluf (1980):

1. The setting upof or extension of existing projects in order to allow greater access to preparatory training for the purpose of repairing the damage presently caused by the current system. In other words, the policy of selection normally practised should be replaced by one of motivation

in order to take into account the needs not only of those among the young workers who are in the best position to be "retrieved" by an enterprise, but, on the contrary, also of those only poorly prepared for any form of vocational training.

2. The provision of vocational training proper which does not perpetuate the obstacles which are traditionally the downfall of those who, like the young immigrants, are culturally at a disadvantage. In this regard basic links should be established between the theoretical instruction and practical work experience on a site or on the shop floor. This is in fact a very different slant from that which has been operant in Belgium up to the present, where vocational training is still largely dominated by the model employed by the schools.

3. The provision of complementary courses allowing diversification of the skills obtained so that they become transferable. There is in fact an increasing demand on the labour market for workers who, while qualified for a specific job, are capable of adapting to changes and thus have the basic training necessary for such flexibility.

All these proposals should form part of a package of measures providing for the "positive discrimination" of the young immigrants, without which it will not be possible to remedy what still can be remedied.

As a final requirement, care must be taken that the training courses are not moulded to meet specific requirements of the labour market, but that on the contrary they prepare the trainees to start their careers with broad-based vocational qualifications, including a sound basic training and adequate socio-cultural competence. We have no way of knowing today what will be the requirements of industry in a few years' time. The rapid development of techniques, the growing obsolescence of knowledge and the restructuration of the tools of production leave too many unknown quantities as regards the future structure of the

labour market for one to wish to make the mistake of equating future conditions with the requirements of today (C. Verniers, 1980)

Finally, the development of such vocational training programmes will make it necessary to re-evaluate all links and cooperation between the bodies responsible for guidance (the psycho-medico-social centres, selection systems etc.) for vocational training proper and for finding employment or effecting social integration.

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